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Dravidian Verb Morphology

(A Comparative Study)

P. S. Subrahmanyam

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Foreword

"Dravidian Verb Morphology (A Comparative Study)" *is the revised and enlarged version of Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam's Ph. D. dissertation submitted to the Andhra University in 1963, which was highly commended by several Dravidian scholars. The Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University has been specializing in Dravidian Linguistics and Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam as a member of the faculty has been concentrating on Comparative Dravidian Studies. The Department of Linguistics has published Professor M. B. Emeneau's* **Dravidian Comparative Phonology : A Sketch** *which is being used as a text book for Dravidian phonology in various Universities. I am very happy that the Centre is now able to publish the present book that deals with Dravidian verb morphology. The present work is a pioneering study in Dravidian comparative morphology. A forthcoming work by Dr. S. V. Shanmugam deals with the noun morphology of Dravidian. I hope that this series will be very useful to students of Linguistics in general and to Dravidian Linguistics in particular.*

Annamalai University,
Annamalainagar,
19—6—1970.

S. Agesthialingom
DIRECTOR
Centre of Advanced
Study in Linguistics

Preface

The systematic study of the Dravidian comparative phonology has started with the papers of Professor T. Burrow (published originally in *BS(O)AS* and recently reprinted by the Annamalai University, (1968); a summary of it with all essential details is presented by Professor M. B. Emeneau in his work of 1970. Professor Emeneau's work mentioned above (like its slightly different earlier mimeographed version) serves as the text book for the study of the comparative phonology. The study of the Dravidian comparative morphology, on the other hand, is still in its infancy although a number of significant contributions on this aspect have appeared in recent times. Still a textbook on the comparative morphology containing materials from all the languages that are discovered so far and summarizing the findings of the recent individual studies is a desideratum. Therefore the works of Bishop R. Caldwell (1856) and Jules Bloch (1946;

English translation 1954), which though valuable, are dated, are still exclusively used in the study of the subject. It is hoped that the present work will fill the gap to some extent at least as far as the morphology of the verb is concerned.

It is a revised version of my Ph.D. thesis entitled, "*A Comparative Study of Verb Forms in the Dravidian Languages*" (submitted to the Andhra University in 1963); it was awarded the Sir R. Venkataratnam Research Medal for the year 1964 for being the best among the theses accepted by the University (in the Faculty of Humanities) in that year. The revision takes into account not only the several papers and books on the subject and the individual languages that are published during these seven years but also minor changes in my views on some specific topics. It is because of the revision that a new method of numbering the paragraphs in each chapter has been adopted although the thesis has been referred to by Professors M. B. Emeneau and K. Mahadeva Sastri in their works. It is hoped that the readers will not find it very difficult to locate the portions that are referred to by these scholars.

Each of the chapters of this book is divided into two parts. The first part contains brief descriptive statements about the structure of the concerned verb forms in all the available languages. Although the materials in the available sources for some of the non-literary languages are incomplete they have to be included here as such for want of better works and therefore these portions may have to be revised in future as and when more exhaustive studies become available.

It may be pointed out here that although the descriptive statements on each language are taken from the sources, they have occasionally been modified and restated for the sake of precision and accuracy. In the case of morphological conditionings, listing is systematically avoided; in such cases the readers may refer to the sources for details.

A comparative treatment of the various suffixes and of the morphological and the syntactic constructions constitutes the second part of each of the chapters. The syntactic peculiarities of the verb forms in the several languages were also discussed as far as it is possible at present. Experience in the class room has shown that this method of presenting the descriptive study first and building up the comparative study on it is suitable for teaching purposes also. Since this is the first attempt at the comparative study of the Dravidian verb system in a detailed and systematic manner, a number of interesting points have come to light for the first time. The thorough study has also made it possible to find out new and satisfactory explanations for a number of suffixes in the individual languages.

The study of the actual process of the disintegration of the Proto-Dravidian speech into the present-day daughter languages by finding out the subgrouping relationships of these languages still encounters certain problems regarding a few individual languages. This is chiefly either because the data available on such languages is insufficient or because the available data have not yet been properly studied and utilized for this purpose. Therefore the last chapter of

this work is devoted to the study of subgroups in Dravidian. To make the study of this aspect complete, the evidence is presented not only from the verb morphology but also from other parts of morphology, phonology and also from syntax. This chapter, thus, in addition to serving as the summary of the preceding chapters, brings together the findings of several works on the subject. It must also be added that although the overall picture of the subgroupings is clear by now, the interrelationships of a few recently discovered languages will become clearer only after a more detailed study of those languages.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to various scholars and institutions for their help and encouragement in my work. First of all, I should thank Professor S. Agesthialingom who took keen interest in the book and included it in the publication series of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Department of Linguistics, Annamalai University. I am very much indebted to him for his encouragement and many useful suggestions that contributed to the quality of my work. Special mention must be made of the constant encouragement and many valuable suggestions that I received from Professor M. B. Emeneau from time to time. After going through the first version of this book, he appreciated it and suggested to me to publish it. I am deeply grateful to him for his valuable comments on this book and my other works and also for his kindness in supplying me photo copies of some books and papers that were not otherwise available to me. My deep gratitude is due to Professors G. J. Somayaji and Bh. Krishnamurti who not only taught me Dravidian Comparative Grammar and guided me in the initial stages of

my research but also helped me in several ways. Professors T. P. Meenakshisundaran and M. Shanmugam Pillai must be thanked for the special interest they took in the book. The comments of Drs. S. M. Katre, A. M. Ghatage and A. C. Sekhar as adjudicators of my thesis were also helpful in revising it for publication. My thanks are due also to Professors T. Burrow, S. Bhattacharya, M. Andronov, K. Mahadeva Sastri and D. N. Shankara Bhat who evinced keen interest in the book and supplied me copies of their papers and books which were not otherwise accessible to me. Last but not least, my thanks are due to all my colleagues and Research Scholars in the Department of Linguistics, Annamalai University, who not only provided me the data on several individual languages but also helped me to clarify my views through discussions. I should specially thank Dr. K. Kushalappa Gowda (for information on Kannaḍa and Tuḷu), Dr. S. V. Shanmugam and Sri N. Kumaraswami Raja (for information on Tamil), Sri K. M. Prabhakara Variar (for information on Malayalam), Sri. G. Subbiah (for information on Kota), Sri S. Sakthivel (for information on Toda and also for assisting me in correcting the proofs) and Sri R. Balakrishnan (for information on Koḍagu). The first version of this book has been used in the teaching of the subject to the Linguistics M. A. students in the Annamalai University for about five years and also to the students in two Summer Schools of Linguistics (held at Annamalainagar, 1967 and Mysore, 1970); this experience also was immensely useful in revising the book.

Grateful acknowledgements are due to the authorities of the Andhra University for granting me the permission to

publish my thesis; to Dr. S. P. Adinarayan, the Vice-Chancellor and the authorities of the Annamalai University for providing me all facilities for my work and to the University Grants Commission for releasing the funds for the publication of this book. M/s Azhahu Printers must be thanked for executing the printing of the work satisfactorily.

P. S. Subrahmanyam

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1.

TRANSITIVE AND CAUSATIVE SUFFIXES

1.0. Introduction

The distinction between an intransitive verb and a transitive verb is essentially discernable only at the syntactic level. Thus, those verbs that are capable of taking a direct object are transitves and those that are not capable of taking a direct object are intransitives. In Dravidian, the verbs that are syntactically transitive can be further subdivided into two classes: those that morphologically contain a transitive marker, e.g. Ta. *āṭ–ṭu* 'to make to run' (877), *aṭ-akku* 'to control' (56), *naṭa–ttu* 'to make to walk' (2957), and those that do not, e.g. Ta. *tiṉ* 'to eat' (2670), *kol* 'to kill' (1772) and *cey* 'to do' (1628). The former may be called "derived transitives" since they are derived from the underlying verbs (which are either intransitive or transitive at the syntactic level) by the addition of a transitive marker, and the latter "inherent transitives". Since there is no difference between an intransitive verb and an inherent transitive verb at the morphological level, verbs belonging to both these classes are subsumed under the term "intransitive" and the term "transitive" is restricted only to derived transitives in the following study.

This chapter is devoted to the descriptive and comparative study of the formation of the (derived) transitive verbs from the underlying verbs in the various Dravidian languages. It may be observed here that some but not all of the Dravidian languages like Old Tamil, Telugu and Brahui (see below) have a separate causative suffix that is distinct from the transitive suffiixes. This causative suffix is usually added to a transitive base, whether it is inherent or derived and in this way serves to form the causative verb. It is worth noting that the causative suffixes of the languages in which they are distinct from the transitive suffixes are also from the comparative point of view, ultimately related to the transitive suffixes as will be shown by the following study.

DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

1.1. Tamil

(i) In Tamil there is a large number of pairs of intransitive and transitive bases in which the intransitive ends in a single stop (P) or the combination, nasal plus homorganic stop (NP) and the corresponding transitive in a double stop (PP) of the same point of articulation. As pointed out by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar[1] the inter-relationship between

1. "The finals of the following causatival bases are usually described as being due to "gemination" or "doubling"; but (see my *DS* and *HAP*) they may primarily be ascribed to the *sandhi* action of *tt*, the causative forming affix......... on the different endings of the non-causatival bases from which these causatives are formed." (1938:752)

the intransitive and transitive bases of this class can be adequately accounted for in a descriptive grammar by treating such a transitive base as derived from the combination, the corresponding intransitive base plus the transitive morpheme (*-tt-*). The double stop in the transitive bases in such an analysis will be the result of the following morphophonemic change.

$$(N)\ P + \{Tr.\} \rightarrow PP$$

(a)	*ā-ku*	'to be'	*āk-ku*	'to make to be'
	pō-ku	'to go'	*pōk-ku*	'to cause to go'
	ar-uku	'to become scarce'	*ar-ukku*	'to make scarce'
	per-uku	'to grow, increase'	*per-ukku*	'to cause to grow, increase'
	ū-ṅku	'to swing (intr)'	*ūk-ku*	'to swing (tr.)'
	nī-ṅku	'to be removed'	*nīk-ku*	'to remove'
	aṭ-aṅku	'to be subdued'	*aṭ-akku*	'to subdue'
	iṇ-aṅku	'to agree'	*iṇ-akku*	'to make to agree'
	iṟ-aṅku	'to descend'	*iṟ-akku*	'to lower'
(b)	*āṭu*	'to move, dance'	*āṭ-ṭu*	'to cause to move, dance'
	ōṭu	'to run'	*ōṭ-ṭu*	'to make to run'
	kūṭu	'to join (intr.)'	*kūṭ-ṭu*	'to join (tr.)'
	ī-ṇṭu	'to come together'	*īṭ-ṭu*	'to collect'
	uṟ-aṇṭu	'to become reduced'	*uṟ-aṭṭu*	'to reduce'

	pul-uṇṭu 'to be roasted'	*pul-uṭṭu* 'to roast'
	vaḻ-aṇṭu 'to peel off'	*vaḻ-aṭṭu* 'to cause to peel off'
(c)	*ar-untu* 'to eat'	*ar-uttu* 'to feed'
	aḻ-untu 'to become pressed'	*aḻ-uttu* 'to press'
	tir-untu 'to be correct'	*tir-uttu* 'to correct'
	por-untu 'to agree'	*por-uttu* 'to cause to agree'
(d)	*kuḻ-ampu* 'to get confused'	*kuḻ-appu* 'to confuse'
	tir-umpu 'to turn (intr.)'	*tir-uppu* 'to turn (tr.)'
	nir-ampu 'to become full'	*nir-appu* 'to fill'
(e)	*āṟu* 'to grow cool'	*āṟ-ṟu* 'to cool (tr.)'
	ūṟu 'to flow, ooze'	*ūṟ-ṟu* 'to cause to flow pour'
	ēṟu 'to rise'	*ēṟ-ṟu* 'to raise'
	oṉṟu 'to unite (intr.)'	*oṟ-ṟu* 'to unite (tr.)'
	tōṉṟu 'to appear'	*tōṟ-ṟu* 'to cause to appear'

(ii) In another class of verbs the transitives are formed from intransitives by adding the suffix *-ttu* or *-ppu*. When *-ttu* occurs after verb bases ending in *l*, *ṉ*, *ḷ* or *ṇ* the following automatic sandhi changes take place :

1. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \underline{n} \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} + tt \rightarrow \underline{r}\underline{r}$

2. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \underset{.}{n} \\ \underset{.}{l} \end{matrix} \right\} + tt \rightarrow \underset{.}{t}\underset{.}{t}$

(a)	*alar*	'to blossom'	*alar–ttu*	'to cause to blossom'
	kāy	'to grow hot'	*kāy–ttu* / *kāy–ccu*	'to heat'
	nikaḻ	'to be performed'	*nikaḻ–ttu*	'to perform'
	nil	'to be stopped'	*niṟ–uttu*	'to stop'
	para	'to spread'	*para–ttu*	'to spread (tr.)'
	pāy	'to flow'	*pāy–ttu* / *pāy–ccu*	'to lead or conduct water'
(b)	*tiṉ*	'to eat'	*tīṟ–ṟu*	'to feed'
	akal	'to spread'	*akaṟ–ṟu*	'to spread (tr.)'
	kaḻal	'to become loose'	*kaḻaṟ·ṟu*	'to loosen'
	tuyil	'to sleep'	*tuyiṟ–ṟu*	'to put to sleep'
(c)	*uṇ*	'to eat, drink'	*ūṭ–ṭu*	'to cause to eat, drink'
	kāṇ	'to see'	*kāṭ–ṭu*	'to show'
	pūṇ	'to be yoked'	*pūṭ–ṭu*	'to yoke'
	curuḷ	'to become coiled'	*curuṭ–ṭu*	'to coil'
	maruḷ	'to be afraid'	*maruṭ-ṭu*	'to threaten'
	māḷ	'to die'	*māṭ–ṭu*	'to kill'
(d)	*kaḻi*	'to be spent'	*kaḻi-ppu*	'to spend'
	kiṭa	'to lie down'	*kiṭa–ppu*	'to cause to lie down'
	para	'to spread'	*parappu*	'to spread (tr.)'
	kaṭa	'to go, proceed'	*kaṭa–vu*	'to cause to go'
	naṭa	'to walk'	*naṭa–vu*	'to cause to walk'

(iii) In a number of bases ending mainly in one of the phonemes *i*, *y*, *r* and *ḻ* (and a few of the type (C)V*Cu*)

the intransitive and transitive signification is borne out by the employment of different allomorphs of the tense suffixes. Thus, the allomorphs *-nt-*/*-ṭ-* (past), *-kiṟ-* (present) and *-v-*/*-um* (future) are added to a verb base of this class to express the intransitive meaning whereas *-tt-* (past), *-kkiṟ-* (present) and *-pp-*/*-kkum* (future) are added to the same to express the transitive meaning. The transitive verbs of this class can be systematically treated as containing a covert allomorph (L. Lisker 1951 prefers to represent this allomorph as X) of the transitive morpheme. (The present tense allomorphs are omitted in the following examples.)

amai (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to become still'	*amai* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to cause to be still'
uṭai (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to be broken'	*uṭai* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to break (tr.)'
utir (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to drop off'	*utir* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to cause to drop'
kaḻi (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to become spent (as time)'	*kaḻi* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to spend'
keṭu (*keṭ-ṭ-*, *-v-*) 'to get spoiled'	*keṭu* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to spoil'
cēr (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to become united'	*cēr* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to unite'
tāḻ (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to be lowered'	*tāḻ* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to lower'
piri (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to be separated'	*piri* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to separate'

māy (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to die'	*māy* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to kill'
vaṟu (*-nt-*, *-v-*) 'to be fried'	*vaṟu* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to try'
viṭu (*viṭ-ṭ-*, *-v-*) 'to leave'	*viṭu* (*-tt-*, *-pp-*) 'to send away'

(iv) The causative suffix in Tamil is /*-vi-* ∞ *-ppi-*/; *-vi-* occurs after the so called "weak verbs" and *-ppi-* after the so called "strong verbs" (morphological conditioning). It is mainly added to transitive bases (inherent or derived) to convert them into causatives although there are a few instances in which it is added to an intransitive base. Note the following morphophonemic changes :

1. $v \rightarrow p$ / N(asal)-
2. $pp \rightarrow p$ / L(ateral)-
3. $\mathrm{L} \rightarrow \mathrm{P}$ / $-p$.

uruku 'to dissolve'	*uruku-vi* 'to dissolve (tr.)'
uḻa 'to suffer'	*uḻa-ppi* 'to cause to suffer'
kal 'to learn'	*kaṟ-pi* 'to teach'
kāṇ 'to see'	*kāṇ-pi* 'to show'
kēḷ 'to hear, ask'	*kēṭ-pi* 'to cause to hear, ask'
cey 'to do'	*cey-vi* 'to cause to do'
naṭa 'to walk'	*naṭa-ppi* 'to cause to walk'

Ramaswami Aiyar (1936:52; 1938:754, 781) points out that in the *Caṅkam* texts bases with this suffix are somewhat rare though not completely absent and that they become very frequent in the works of the Saivite hymnists and the

Āl̲wārs. In *Tolkāppiyam* (sutra 761) there is a solitary instance of this suffix : *amma kēṭpikkum* "The word *amma* makes (one) listen". The following are the illustrations of such forms that occur in the *Caṅkam* texts :

mar̲appittāy (*KLT*, 50)	'You (sg.) caused to forget'
pōrpittilatu (*PN*, 286)	'It did not cause to cover'
paṭarvittavaḷ (*KLT*, 141)	'She who made (somebody) suffer'
koṭpittān (*KLT*, 143)	'He caused to take'
uṇarppittal (*PRP*, 3:73)	'Making (somebody) understand'
pir̲appittōr (*PRP*, 3:73)	'Those who caused to be born'
tāl̲ppikkum (*PRP*, 5,1.75)	'He/she/it/they (neut.) will cause to lower'

It must be noted here that in a few instances the causative suffix freely varies with the transitive suffixes and that there are instances of free variation between the allomorphs of the transitive suffix.

Examples :

il̲i (*–nt–*, *–v–*) 'to descend'	*il̲i* (*–tt–*, *–pp–*) *il̲i–ttu*	'to lower'
kal̲i (*–nt–*, *–v–*) 'to pass as time'	*kal̲i* (*-tt–*, *-pp–*) *kal̲i–ppu*	'to spend (as time)'
kāṇ 'to see'	*kāṭ-ṭu* *kāṇ-pi*	to show'

naṭa 'to walk'	*naṭa-ttu* *naṭa-vu* *naṭa-ppi*	'to cause to walk'
nil 'to stand'	*niṟ-uttu* *niṟ-uvu*	'to cause to stand, stop'
para 'to spread'	*para-ttu* *para-ppu*	'to spread (tr.)'

In present-day spoken Tamil the causative suffix is not used. The causative sense in it is expressed by the syntactic construction consisting of infinitive of a verb plus the auxiliary verb *vai* 'to put, place'.

coll-a vai	'to cause to say'
naṭa-kka vai	'to cause to walk'

(v) In *Caṅkam* texts there occur a number of past adverbial participles with the structure, verb base followed by *-ii* and past adjectival participles with the structure, verb base followed by *-ii-* which in turn is followed by the adjective marker *-ya* (the *y* in it is the glide).

Examples (past adverbial participles):

aṟ-ii	'having known'	(*aṟi* 'to know')
kaḻ-ii	'having cleansed'	(*kaḻu(vu)* 'to cleanse')
taḻ-ii	'having embraced'	(*taḻu(vu)* 'to embrace')
ir-ii	'having kept'	(*iru* 'to be')
cer-ii	'having inserted'	(*ceruku* 'to insert')
tar-ii	'having given'	(*taru* 'to give')
ver-ii	'having feared'	(*veru(vu)* 'to fear')
kaṭai-i	'having driven'	(*kaṭai* 'to drive')

icai-i	'having sounded'	(*icai* 'to sound')
tuḻai-i	'having stirred'	(*tuḻai* 'to stir')
niṉai-i	'having thought'	(*niṉai* 'to think')
koḷ-ii	'having taken'	(*koḷ* 'to take')
niṟ-ii	'having established'	(*niṟuvu* 'to establish')
uṇ-ii	'having eaten, drunk'	(*uṇ* 'to eat or drink')

While most of these forms are intransitive or transitive depending on the base, some of them (e.g. *ir-ii*) carry the transitive meaning although the underlying bases are intransitive. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri (1934:151–153) considers the first *ī* of such forms to be identical with the verb *ī* 'to give' and the second *i* to be the past suffix; since there is no *ī* in verbs ending in *ai* the participles of those verbs, according to him, have transitive meaning only because of the context. Ramaswami Aiyar (1938:754) considers the *ī* as an auxiliary verb (identical with the verb *ī* 'to give') and calls it a "causative-producer and a help-verb". However, this *ī* cannot be considered to be an independent verb used as an auxiliary since an auxiliary verb is never added directly to the verb base.

1.2. Malayalam

In general, Malayalam is in close agreement with Tamil in the formation of transitives and causatives. In this connection the common phonetic changes that affect this language like NP>NN and the palatalization of dentals after *i* or *y* (as in colloquial Tamil) must be taken note of. A few examples for all the types discussed under Tamil are given below.

(i)	*aṭ-aṅṅu* 'to be pressed down'	*aṭ-akku* 'to press down'
	āṟu 'to grow cool'	*āṟ-ṟu* 'to cool (tr.)'
	per-uku 'to be multiplied'	*per-ukku* 'to multiply'
(ii)	*tin* 'to eat'	*tīṟ-ṟu* 'to feed'
	naṭa 'to walk'	*naṭa-ttu* 'to drive'
	nīḷ 'to extend oneself'	*nīṭ-ṭu* 'to lengthen'
	pāy 'to rush out'	*pā-ccu* 'to cause to flow'
(iii)	*iḻi (-ññ-, -um)* 'to descend	*iḻi (-cc-, -kkyum)* 'to lower'
	oṭi (-ññ-, -um) 'to break'	*oṭi (-cc-, -kkyum)* 'to break (tr.)'
	kaḻi (-ññ-, -um) 'to pass as time'	*kaḻi (-cc-, -kkyum)* 'to make to pass'
(iv)	*kēḷ* 'to hear, ask'	*kēḷ-ppi* 'to cause to hear, ask'
	ciri 'to laugh'	*ciri-ppi* 'to cause to laugh'
	tēy 'to rub'	*tē-ppi* 'to cause to rub'
	toṭu 'to touch'	*toṭu-vi* 'to make to touch'
	mēy 'to graze'	*mēy-vi* 'to cause to graze'
	ōṭu 'to run'	*ōṭ-i* 'to cause to run'
	kēḻ 'to weep'	*kēḻ-i* 'to cause to weep'
	cey 'to do'	*ceyy-i* 'to cause to do'
	collu 'to say'	*coll-i* 'to cause to say'
	vāḻ 'to live'	*vāḻ-i* 'to get a girl married'

As shown by Ramaswami Aiyar (1936:51–52) the allomorph *i* of the Malayalam causative suffix is from Middle Tamil *-vi-* (cf. Ma. *ceyy-i* < Mid. Ta. *cey-vi*, etc.)

1.3. Kota

(i) In a class of verbs a final voiced stop (or *ṛ*) of the intransitive base is replaced by the corresponding voiceless stop in the transitive.

am-g-	'to be pressed hard'	*am-k-*	'to press hard'
er-g-	'to go down'	*er-k-*	'to put down load
tol-g-	'to be released from debt'	*tol-k-*	'to release from debt'
ni-ṛ	'(iron) becomes longer'	*nī-ṭ-*	'to lengthen'
par-d-	'(small objects) spread over large space'	*par-t-*	'to spread (small objects)'

(ii) In another class of verbs the transitive suffixes are *-c-* and *-t-*. *y* and *nj* before *c* and *r* and *v* before *t* are dropped; base final *ṇ* and *t* are replaced by *-ṭ-*.

-c-

(a)	*kal-*	'to learn'	*kal-c-*	'to teach'
	kāy-	'to become hot'	*kā-c-*	'to heat'
	nān-	'to become wet'	*nān-c-*	'tomake to be wetted'
	nil-	'to stand'	*nil-c-/nin-c-*	'to cause to stand'

	paṛ- 'to lie down'	*paṛ-c-* 'to make to lie down'
	piry- 'to separate' (intr.)	*pir-c-* 'to separate (tr.)'
	mēy- 'to graze'	*mē-c-* 'to make to graze'
	vag- '(woman) is married'	*vak-c-* 'to make woman marry'
	kornj- 'to become reduced in size'	*kor-c-* 'to reduce in size'
	pirnj- 'to separate oneself from'	*pir-c-* 'to separate (tr.)'

-t-

(b)	*ār-* 'to become dry'	*ā-t-* 'to expose to fire'
	kaṛv- 'to cross river'	*kaṛ-t-* 'to make to cross'
	cēr- 'to gather'	*cē-t-* 'to make to gather'
	naṛv- 'to walk'	*naṛ-t-* 'to make to walk'
	uṇ- 'to drink'	*ū-ṭ-* 'to suck'
	porṇ- 'to roll (intr.)'	*por-ṭ-* 'to roll (tr.)'
	verṇ- 'to become afraid'	*ver-ṭ-* 'to cause to be afraid'

(iii) In another class of verbs ending in *v* or *y* the erstwhile past stem contains the past marker *-d-* (which changes to *-c-* after *y*) in the intransitive and *-t-* (which changes to *-c-* after *y*) in the transitive (*v* before *t*/*d* and *y* before *c* are dropped). The transitive morpheme in this class can be considered to have a -∅- allomorph.

alv- (*al-d-*) 'to became wearied'	*alv-* (*al-t-*) 'to cause to became wearied'
eṛv- (*eṛ-d-*) 'to spring up'	*eṛv-* (*eṛ-t-*) 'to make to spring up'
oṛv- (*oṛ-d-*) 'to break (intr.)'	*oṛv-* (*oṛ-t-*) 'to break (tr.)'
veḷv- (*veḷ-d-*) 'to grow'	*veḷv-* (*veḷ-t-*) 'to cause to grow'
tēy- (*tē-c-*) 'to become worn down'	*tēy-* (*tē-c-*) 'to wear down (tr.)
mury- (*mur-c-*) 'to break (intr.)'	*mury-* (*mur-c-*) 'to break (tr.)'

(iv) The causative suffix in Kota is *-kc-/-gc-* (from *gey-* (*ge-c-*) 'to make, do', M. B. Emeneau 1967:368); this must originally be a periphrastic construction containing the infinitive of a verb followed by *gey-*.

uṇ- 'to drink'	*uṇ-kc-* 'to make to drink'
ōg- 'to go'	*ō-kc-* 'to cause to'
coṭ- 'to fall in drops'	*coṭ-gc-* 'to make to fall in drops,

1.4. Toda

(i) In one class of verbs transitives are formed by substituting the corresponding voiceless stop to a final voiced stop, fricative or trill of the intransitive base.

al-x- 'to shake (intr.)'	*al-k-* 'to shake (tr.)'
ī-x- 'to descend'	*ī-k-* 'to put down (burden)'

oḍ-g- 'to be quiet'	*oḍ-k-* 'to subdue'
ōḍ- 'to dance'	*ōṭ-* 'to shake'
ōr̠- 'to become dry'	*ō-ṯ-* 'to dry'
kūṛ- 'to join (intr.)	*kū-ṭ-* 'to join' (tr.)'
mōr̠- to change (intr.)	*mōṯ-* 'to change (way)'
wīṛg- 'to be crushed'	*wīṛ-k-* 'to crush'

(ii) In another class of verbs the transitive suffixes are *-c-* (it is replaced by *č* in the past stem) and *-t-*. *y* before *c* and *r* before *t* are dropped; base final *l* or *ḷ/ṇ* plus *t* change to *t* or *ṭ*.

-c-

(a) *ōḍ-* 'to dance'	*ōḍ-c* 'to make to dance'
kaL- 'to learn'	*kal-c-* 'to teach'
köṛ- 'to die'	*köṛ-c-* 'to kill'
koḍy- 'to disappear'	*koḍ-c-* 'to make to disappear'
kōy- 'to be hot'	*kō-c-* 'to heat (tr.)'

-t-

(b) *öḍ-* 'to rise'	*öṛ-t-* 'to arouse'
kaḍ 'to cross'	*kaṛ-t-* to take across'
naṛ- 'to walk'	*naṛ-t-* 'to make to walk'
sör- 'to reach'	*sö-t-* 'to make to reach'
ūḷ- 'to roll (intr.)'	*ū-ṭ-* 'to roll (tr.)'
kōṇ- 'to see'	*kō-ṭ-* 'to show'
tūḷ- 'to be rolled up'	*tū-ṭ-* 'to roll up'

nōl- 'to get wet' *nōṯ-* 'to make to become wet'

(iii) In another class of verbs the erstwhile past stem contains the past maker -θ- (which changes to *-s-* after *y*) in the intransitive and *-t-* (which changes to *-c-* after *y*) in the transitive. *-f-* appears in the non-past stems of such transitive bases that do not end in *y*. The transitive marker in this class is therefore *-f-* and it is replaced by Ø before *-t-* and also after *y* ending verbs.

öḍ- (*öḍ-θ*) 'to rise'	*öṛ-f-* (*öṛ-t-*) 'to arouse from sleep'
kwal- (*kwal-θ-*) 'to become emaciated'	*kwal-f-* (*kwal-t-*) 'to make to be emaciated'
twaḍ- (*twaḍ-θ-*) 'to be polluted'	*twaḍ-f-* (*twaḍ-t-*) 'to pollute'
peḶ- (*peḶ-θ*) '(food plants) grow'	*peḶ* (*-peḶ-t-*) 'to grow (tr.)'
waṛ- (*waṛ-θ*) 'to break'	*waṛ-f-* (*waṛ-t-*) 'to break (tr.)'
īṛy- (*īṛ-s-*) 'to fall down'	*īṛy-* (*īṛ-c-*) 'to pull down'
kary- (*kar-s-*) 'to be singed'	*kary-* (*kar-c-*) 'to singe'
tōy- (*tō-s-*) 'to be lowered'	*tōy-* (*tō-c-*) 'to lower'
wīṛy- (*wīṛ-s-*) '(joints) crack'	*wīṛy-* (*wīṛ-c-*) 'to crack (joints)'

(iv) Causatives in Toda are formed by suffixing *-e ṯ-* (past stem *e ṯ-y-*) to the basic verb stem.[2]

tīn- 'to eat'	*tīn-eṭ-* 'to cause to eat'

1.5. Kodagu

(i) In one class of verbs base final voiced stops (B) or the cluster, homorganic nasal plus voiced stop (NB) is replaced by the corresponding voiceless stop (P) in the formation of the transitives.

āg- 'to be'	*ā-k-* 'to make to stay'
āḍ- 'to move, dance'	*ā-ṭ-* 'to make to move, dance'
ur-īḍ- 'to roll (tr.)'	*ur-īṭ-* 'to cause to roll'
ër-ang- 'to slip down'	*ër-ak-* 'to let slip down'
ol-amb- 'to gargle'	*ol-ap-* 'to wash (plates, pots)'
tir-īg- 'to go about'	*tir-īk-* 'to turn (tr.)'
bor-aḍ- 'to be confused by fear'	*bor-aṭ-* 'to frighten'
tur-īḍ- 'to be rolled up'	*tur-īṭ-* 'to roll up (tr.)'

(ii) In another class of verbs the transitive suffixes that are added to the intransitive verbs are *-k-*, *-t-* and *-īp-*. In

2. M. B. Emeneau (1957:67; 1967:368) connects this to Ta. Ma. *eṟṟu* 'to strike, throw (as with a sling)'. This might originally be a periphrastic construction involving the infinitive form of a verb plus *eṟṟu*.

one verb base final *ḷ* is lost before *-k-*. Before *-t-* base final *r* or *nn* is lost; also note

$$\begin{bmatrix} y \\ ṇ \end{bmatrix} + t \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} c \\ ṭ \end{bmatrix}.$$

-k-

(a) *ur-*	'to melt'	*urī-k-*	'to melt (tr.)'
ëḷ-	'to leave one's position'	*ëḷa-k-*	'to make to leave'
kar-	'to be digested'	*kara-k-*	'to digest'
tir-	'to turn (intr.)'	*tirī-k-*	'to turn (tr.)'
mur-	'to tighten (intr.)'	*murī-k-*	'to tighten (tr.)'
būḷ-	'to fall'	*bū-k-*	'to fell (tree)'

-t-

(b) *ār-*	'to become dry'	*ā-t-*	'to dry'
kaḍa-	'to cross'	*kaḍa-t-*	'to take across'
kāṇ-	'to see'	*kā-ṭ-*	'to show'
kāy-	'to be hot'	*kā-c-*	'to boil (tr.)'
këḍ-	'to be spoiled'	*këḍī-t-*	'to spoil'
kḕr-	'to go up to house'	*kë-t-*	'to take (person) into house'
tār-	'to descend'	*tā-t-*	'to lower'
tinn-	'to eat (not rice)'	*tī-t-*	'to feed by hand'
naḍa-	'to walk'	*naḍa-t-*	'to make to walk'
nēr-	'to hang (intr.)'	*nē-t-*	'to hang (tr.)'
pār-	'to fly, leap'	*pā-t-*	'to winnow'
bar-	'to come'	*bara-t-*	'to cause to come'

(c) *ari-*	'to find out'	*ar-īp-*	'to inform, tell'
īḷi-	'to descend'	*iḷ-īp-/i-p-*	'to lower'
ëḷ-	'lo get up'	*ë-pp-*	'to raise'
tëḷi-	'(sleep) leaves one'	*tëḷ-īp-*	'to cause (sleep) to leave one'
piri-	'to disperse (intr.)'	*pir-īp-*	'to make to disperse'

(iii) In another class of verbs the transitive morpheme has a zero allomorph. However, the verbs of this class take the tense suffix allomorphs *-v-* (non-past) and *-nd-* (changing to *-ñj-* after *i/y;* past) in the intransitive and *-p-* (non-past) and *-t-* (changing to *-c-* after *i/y;* past) in the transitive.

īḍi- (-v-, -ñj-) '(wall) falls'	*īḍi- (-p-, -c-)* 'to knock over (wall)'
oḍe- (-v-, -and-) 'to be broken'	*oḍa- (-p-, -t-)* 'to break'
kari- (-v-, -ñj-) 'to be singed'	*kari- (-p-, -c-)* 'to singe'
taḍe- (-v-, -and-) 'to be obstructed'	*taḍī- (-p-, -t-)* 'to obstruct'
neri- (-v-, -ñj-) '(cloth) is wrung out'	*neri- (-p-, -c-)* 'to wring (cloth)'

(iv) The causative suffix in Koḍagu is *-c-* with several allomorphic variations of the preceding vowel (cf. Emeneau 1967:368).

1.6. Kannada

(i) The transitive-causative suffix in Kannada is *isu* with the variants *-su*, (Old Ka.) *-cu*, (Mid. Ka.) *-isu* and (dialectal) *-asu*. *-cu* according to F. Kittel occurs in Old Kannaḍa after verbs ending in the vowels *i* and *e* and the consonants *r*, *l*, *ḷ* and *ḻ*. After the above mentioned consonants, *-cu* is replaced by *-icu* in Mediaeval Kannaḍa and still later by *-isu* so that in the present-day Kannaḍa *-isu* is the only allomorph.

agal 'to be separated'	*agal-cu* 'to remove'
ī 'to give'	*ī-su/īy-isu* 'to cause to give'
en 'to say'	*en-isu* 'to cause to say'
oḻu 'to plough'	*oḻ-isu* 'to cause to plough'
ōḍu 'to run'	*ōḍ-isu* 'to cause to run'
kāy 'to grow hot'	*kā-su/kāy-isu* 'to make hot'
kiḍu 'to destroy'	*kiḍ-isu* 'to cause to destroy'
key 'to do'	*key-su* 'to cause to do'
keraḷ 'to be angry'	*keraḷ-cu/keraḷ-icu/keraḷ-isu* 'to make (one) to be angry'
tīr 'to be finished'	*tīr-cu/tīr-isu* 'to finish'
naḍe 'to walk'	*naḍey-isu* 'to cause to walk'
nil 'to stand'	*nel-asu* 'to make to stand'

bīḷ(u)	'to fall'	*bīḷ-isu*	'to cause to fall'
negaḻ	'to undertake'	*negaḻ-cu*	'to cause to undertake'

(ii) In early inscriptions of the period, 7th century to the 10th century A. D. there are instances for another transitive-causative suffix *-ppu-* (latter *-pu-*) e.g. (7th century) *muḍi-pp-id-ār*, (9th century) *muḍi-p-id-ar* 'they caused to be finished' (see G. S. Gai 1946:76). Also note *er-bu* 'to raise' (:*eḻ* 'to rise'), *tiri-pu* 'to cause to go round' (:*tiri* 'to turn round'), etc. G. S. Gai (*ibid.*) notes: "The traditional grammars do not mention this suffix. It seems that *-ppu-* is earlier and *-isu* a later suffix."

This suggests that the suffix *-ppu-* was existing in the early stages of Kannaḍa in some verbs and that in later Kannaḍa it has been replaced by the more common suffix *-isu*.

(iii) Although Kannaḍa does not have a large number pairs of intransitive and transitive bases, the former ending in a voiced stop or a homorganic nasal plus voiced stop and the latter ending in a voiceless stop like the languages of the Tamil–Kodagu group, still it has retained a few such pairs like the following.

aḍ-aṅgu / *aḍ-agu*	'to be humbled'	*aḍ-aku*	'to subdue'
am-ugu / *av-uku*	'to yield to pressure'	*am-uku* / *av-uku*	'to press firmly'
muḍ-ugu	'to bend (intr.)'	*muḍ-uku*	'to bend (tr)'
tur-ugu	'to be crammed'	*tur-ukku*	'to cram'

Similarly Kannaḍa does not have the *-tt-* transitive marker in its unassimilated form but it has a handful of verbs ending in *n*, *ṇ* or *ḷ* which have the corresponding transitive verbs with *-tt-* assimilated to the alveolar *ṟ* or the retroflex *ḍ* according to the morphophonemic rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} n \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \underset{.}{n} \\ \underset{.}{l} \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} + tt \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{r} \\ \underset{.}{d} \end{bmatrix}$$

nān 'to get wet'	*nā-ṟu* 'to moisten'
uṇ 'to eat a meal'	*ū-ḍu* 'to cause to eat'
pūṇ 'to fix (an arrow)	*pū-ḍu* 'to join (tr.)'
teraḷ 'to ball itself'	*tera-ṭu* 'to make round'
nīḷ 'to be stretched out'	*nī-ḍu* 'to stretch out'

1.7. **Tulu**

(i) In Uḍupi Brahmin's dialect of Tuḷu (D.N. Shankara Bhat 1967:47–50) the transitive suffix *-pu-* is added to twenty-five verbs, e.g.,

oḷi- 'to remain'	*oḷi-pu-* 'to preserve'
boḷe- 'to grow'	*boḷe-pu-* 'to grow (plants)'
oḍe- 'to break'	*oḍe-pu* 'to break (tr.)'
bigi- 'to become tight'	*bigi-pu-* 'to tighten'

Cf. also examples from J. Brigel (1872):

uri- 'to burn'	*uri-pu* 'to blow'
erki- 'to rise'	*er-pu-* 'to lift up'
kalaḍi- 'to be mixed'	*kala-pu* 'to mingle'
kāyu- 'to be hot'	*kāyi-pu-* 'to make hot'

taḍa	'to stop'	*taḍe-pu*	'to hold off'
tiṛi-	'to be finished'	*tīr-pu-*	'to finish'
pori-	'to be parched'	*pori-pu-*	'to parch'

(ii) The causative suffix in this dialect is *-pō-* after monosyllabic bases and bases of the type (C) VCV ending in *e* or *i* and *-ō-* elsewhere. *-pō-* and *-ō-* of this dialect correspond respectively to *-pāvu-* and *-āvu-* of the dialect recorded by Brigel. The allomorphs *-ō-* and *-pō-* are in free variation with each other in disyllabic bases in which the first vowel is long and the second vowel is *u* or *ɨ* and in trisyllabic bases. However, *-pō-* does not occur in such verbs if the final vowel is preceded by *s*. In certain verbs *-ō-* and *-pō-* are in free variation with *-sō-*.

taḷḷɨ	'to push'	*taḷḷ-ō-*	'to cause to push'
tin-	'to eat'	*tin-pō-*	'to cause to eat'
bar-	'to come'	*bar-pō-*	'to cause to come'
pogi-	'to enter'	*pogi-pō-*	'to cause to enter'
muḍe-	'to plait'	*muḍe-pō-*	'to cause to plait'
mē-	'to graze'	*mē-pō-*	'to cause to graze'
mī-	'to bathe'	*mī-pō-*	to cause to bathe'
pō-	'to go'	*pō-pō-*	'to cause to go'
būḷu	'to fall'	*būḷ-pō-* *būḷ-ō-*	'to cause to fall'
ōdu-	'to read'	*ōd-ō-* *ōd-pō-* *ōd-sō-*	'to cause to read'
bogaḷɨ	'to bark'	*bogaḷ-pō-* *bogaḷ-ō-*	'to cause to bark'

oragi-	'to lean'	*orag-ō-* / *orag-pō-*	'to cause to lean'
sēri	'to join'	*sēr-ō-* / *sēr-sō-*	'to cause to join'
mugi-	'to finish'	*mugi-pō-* / *mugi-sō-*	'to cause to finish'

1.8. Telugu

(i) There are three transitive suffixes, *-cu*, *-pu* and *-incu* in Telugu. *-cu* is added to some of the bases ending in *ru*, *ṟu*, *lu*, *nu* and *ḍu*. The base final *u* may optionally be dropped before this suffix. In these verbs the *c* of *-cu* alternates with *p* before inflectional suffixes beginning with a non front vowel, e g. *cēr-c-i* 'having caused to reach' : *cēr-p-aka* 'without causing to reach'.

-cu

cēru	'to reach'	*cēr(u)-cu*	'to cause to reach'
kāṟu	'to leak'	*kāṟu-cu/kār-cu*	'to make to leak'
kūlu	'to fall down'	*kūl(u)-cu*	'to cause to fall down'
mānu	'to refrain from'	*mān(u)-cu*	'to cause to refrain from'
āḍu	'to play'	*ār-cu*/(later) *āḍ-incu*	'to cause to play'
ōḍu	'to be defeated'	*ōr-cu*/(later) *ōḍ-incu*	'to defeat'
kūḍu	'to join (intr.)'	*kūr-cu*	'to join (tr.)'

-cu is substituted for the final syllable in verbs ending in *gu* (often preceded by a nasalized vowel) and in a few verbs ending in *yu*.

ũgu 'to swing' (intr.)	*ũ-cu/ũ-pu* 'to swing' (tr.)
kalãgu 'to be disturbed'	*kalã-cu* 'to disturb'
kãgu 'to be boiled'	*kã-cu* 'to boil'
maḍãgu 'to be bent'	*maḍã-cu* 'to bend (tr.)'
ḍigu/digu 'to get down'	*ḍin-cu/dim-pu* 'to make to get down'
t(r)egu 'to be cut off (as rope)'	*tren-cu/tem-pu* 'to cut off'
oliyu 'to be peeled'	*olu-cu* 'to peel'
pāyu 'to be separated'	*pā-cu* 'to separate'
rāyu 'to be rubbed'	*rā-cu* 'to rub'

(ii) The suffix *-pu* is substituted for the final syllable of some verbs ending in *gu*, *cu* and *yu*.

uḍugu 'to end'	*uḍu-pu* 'to cause to end'
tirugu 'to turn, wander'	*trip-pu* 'to cause to turn, wander'
kaṟacu 'to learn'	*kaṟa-pu* 'to teach'
caccu 'to die'	*cam-pu* 'to kill'
cūcu 'to see'	*cū-pu* 'to show'
nilucu 'to stand'	*nilu-pu* 'to cause to stand, control'
kaliyu 'to be mixed'	*kalu-pu* 'to mix'
taḍiyu 'to become wet'	*taḍu-pu* 'to make wet'
māyu 'to be destroyed'	*ma-pu* / *māy-incu* } 'to destroy'

In the following three verbs *-pu* is added to the intransitive base.

konu	'to take'	*kolu-pu*	'to instigate'
canu	'(time) passes'	*calu-pu*	'to pass (time)'
kanu	'to see'	*kān-pu*	'to show (oneself)'

(iii) The suffix *-incu* is used to form causative verbs from transitives (both inherent and derived) and is the most productive of all the three suffixes; in some verbs it is in free variation with *-cu* and *pu*. It has the allomorphs *-pincu* and *-ipincu* respectively after some verbs ending in *cu* (which is lost before it) and after a small class of verbs of the type (C)V *nu*. The *c* of the transitive suffix *-cu* alternates with *p* before *-incu*. Also there are a few verbs (e. g. *panḍu*) *molucu*) in which *-incu* is only a transitive marker.

(a)	*cēyu*	'to do'	*cēy-incu*	'to cause to do'
	koṭṭu	'to beat'	*koṭṭ-incu*	'to cause to beat'
	kōyu	'to cut, pluck'	*kōy-incu*	to cause to cut, pluck'
	ōḍu	'to be defeated'	*ōr-cu/ōḍ-incu*	'to defeat'
	māyu	'to be destroyed'	*mā-pu/māy-incu*	'to cause to become ripe'
(b)	*naḍacu*	'to walk'	*naḍa-pincu*	'to cause to walk'
	maṟacu	'to forget'	*maṟa pincu*	'to cause to forget'
	veṟacu	'to fear'	*veṟa-pincu*	'to frighten'

	molucu 'to sprout'	*moli–pincu* 'to cause to sprout'
	iccu 'to give'	*ip–pincu* 'to cause to give'
(c)	*anu* 'to say'	*an–ipincu* 'to cause to say'
	kanu 'to see'	*kān–pincu/kān–ipincu* 'to show, to cause to be seen, to be seen'
	konu 'to buy'	*kon–ipincu* 'to cause to buy'
	tinu 'to eat'	*tin–ipincu* 'to cause to eat'
	vinu 'to hear'	*vin–ipincu* 'to cause to hear'

(d)	*kālu* 'to burn (intr.)'	*kālu–cu* 'to burn (tr.)'	*kāl(i)-p-incu* 'to cause to burn (something)'
	taḍiyu 'to become wet'	*taḍu-pu* 'to make wet'	*taḍi-p-incu* 'to cause to make wet'
	caccu 'to die'	*cam–pu* 'to kill'	*cam-p–incu* 'to cause to kill'

(e) Very few verbs like the following are used both as transitives and intransitives without any formal modification chiefly in Old Telugu.

ãgu 'to be obstructed, to obstruct'[3]

3. Observe the following usages in the literature of the 13th century "*āpagātanayũḍu sēnan ãgi (Mahābhāratamu, Bhīṣmaparvamu*, canto III, poem 135) 'the son of the river (*Gaṅgā*), *having stopped* the army'; *ataṇḍu......vālampagamul vāralapaĩ guriyucun* (*ibid.*, canto I, poems 273-4) 'he, *showering* flocks of sharp arrows on them'.

karāgu 'to be melted, to melt'
kuriyu 'to shower (intr.), to shower (tr.)'

(f) In modern Telugu transitive-causative meaning in a limited number of verbs is expressed by adding one of the auxiliary verbs *vēyu* 'to throw', *koṭṭu* 'to beat', *pōyu* 'to pour', *peṭṭu* 'to place' and *tōyu* 'to push' to the infinitive form of the underlying verb.

paḍu 'to fall'	*paḍ-a vēyu/goṭṭu/dōyu* 'to cause to fall'
ceḍu 'to be spoiled'	*ceḍ-a goṭṭu* 'to spoil'
veḷḷu 'to go'	*veḷ-a goṭṭu* 'to cause to go'
bhayapaḍu 'to be afraid'	*bhayapeṭṭu* 'to frighten'
koṣṭapaḍu 'to suffer'	*kaṣṭapeṭṭu* 'to cause to suffer'
eṇḍu 'to become dry'	*eṇd-a beṭṭu/bōyu* 'to keep (paddy etc.) in the sun'

1.9. Gondi

The transitive suffix in Gondi is /*-h-* ∞ *-pūs-* ∞ *-ūs-*/; *-h-* occurs after fourteen verbs, *-pūs-* occurs after ten verbs and *-ūs-*, which is the most productive allomorph, occurs after the remaining verbs.

In the Koya dialect *-is* is the most productive allomorph and the *-h-* of the other dialects becomes Ø in it. The other allomorphs in this dialect are *-p-*, *-pis-*, *-k-* and *-c-* (all morphologically conditioned, see P. S. Subrahmanyam 1968, § § 4.3., 7.4.2.)

un 'to drink'	*u-h-* / (Koya) *up-pis-* } 'to cause to drink'

tin- 'to eat'	*ti-h-* / (Koya) *tī-pis-* 'to feed'
tēd- 'to get up'	*te-h-* / (Koya) *tē-Ø-* 'to cause to get up'
mēy- 'to graze'	*me-h-* / (Koya) *mē-Ø-* 'to cause to graze'
vōr- 'to be broken'	*vo-h-* to break (tr.)
udd- / (Koya) *kudd-* 'to sit'	*up-pūs-* / (Koya) *kup-pis-* 'to cause to sit'
doh- 'to tie'	*doh-pūs-* 'to cause to die'
karī- 'to learn'	*kar-ūs-* 'to teach'
aṭṭ- 'to cook'	*aṭṭ-ūs-* / (Koya) *aṭṭ-is-* 'to cause to cook'
nor- 'to wash'	*nor-ūs-* / (Koya) *nord-is* 'to cause to wash'
verī- / (Koya) *ver-* 'to fear'	*ver-ūs-* / *ver-pis-* 'to frighten'
(Koya) *kars-* 'to play'	*kar-pis-* 'to cause to play'
(Koya) *ī-* 'to give'	*i-ppis-* 'to cause to give'
(Koya) *aḍ-* 'to weep'	*aḍ-pis-* 'to cause to weep'

1.10. **Konda** (Araku Dialect)

(i) Some bases ending in *ṅ*(*i*), *g*(*i*), *nz*(*i*), *d*, *mb*, *v*(*i*) and *nṟi* form their corresponding transitive-causative base by substituting for them the voiceless obstruent that has the same point of articulation as that of the last consonant in them, i. e., *-k-*, *-s-*, *-t-*, *-p-* and *-R-* respectively.

kuṛṅi- 'to form pits'	*kuṛ-k-* 'to hollow out'
dūṅ- 'to be shaken'	*dū-k-* 'to shake off'

niṅ- 'to rise, get up'	*ni-k-* 'to raise, wake up'
piṛgi- 'to be covered with'	*piṛ-k-* 'to cover with'
muṛg- 'to sink'	*muṛ-k-* 'to dip'
kinz- 'to be torn'	*ki-s-* 'to tear'
marzi- 'to learn'	*mar-s-* 'to teach'
ūd- 'to get wet'	*ū-t-* 'to soak'
namb- 'to be put out'	*na-p-* 'to put out'
tev- 'to be cut off'	*te-p-* 'to cut'
tirvi- 'to be turned'	*tir-p-* 'to turn about'
ninṟi- 'to be filled'	*ni-R-* 'to fill'

(ii) In the majority of the bases, the transitive–causative stem is formed by adding one of the suffixes, *-is-* (~ *-s-*), *-p-* and *-pis-* (~ *-bis-*) to the base. Of these *-p-* occurs in about fourteen bases (morphological conditioning) and *-pis-* occurs after the base *ta-* 'to bring' and after bases of the type (C)V̌C ending in a voiceless obstruent; *-is-* occurs in free variation with *-pis-* after voiceless consonants in most cases, but after voiced obstruents *-pis-* never occurs. *-is-* also occurs after bases of the type (C)V̌CC; its variant *-s-* occurs after bases ending in *i*. *-pis-* has a variant *-bis-* after a few monosyllabic bases ending in *i* or *y* (for details of the morphophonemic changes in the bases before the addition of these suffixes, see Bh. Krishnamurti 1969, § § 6.3.–6.)

-pis-/-is-

ūk- 'to blow pipe'	*ūk-pis-/ūk-is* 'to cause to blow pipe'

kaṭ-	'to bite'	*kaṭ-pis-/kaṭ is-*	'to cause to bite'
ḍas-	'to pound'	*ḍas-pis-/ḍas-is-*	'to cause to pound'
ney-	'to weave'	*ney-pis-/ney-is-*	'to cause to weave'

-pis-

ta-	'to bring'	*ta-pis-*	to cause to bring'
kas-	'to hold tight'	*kas-pis-*	'to cause to hold tight'
sik-	'to smile'	*sik-pis-*	'to cause to smile'
sōk-	'to clean body'	*sōk-pis-*	'to cause to clean body'
uṇ-	'to drink'	*ūṭ-pis-*	'to cause to drink'
tin-	'to eat'	*tīR-pis-*	'to cause to eat'
per̠-	'to lift up'	*per̠g-is-*	'to cause to lift up'

-is- ~ *-s-*

uRk-	'to turn'	*uRk-is-*	'to cause to run'
ur̠-	'to gore, butt'	*ur̠-is-*	'to cause to gore'
ūr-	'to be overboiled'	*ūr-is-*	'to overboil'
kas-	'to be lit up'	*kas-is-*	'to light up'
veR-	'to say'	*veR-is-*	'to cause to say'
ubi	'to swell'	*ubi-s-*	'to cause to swell'
tur̠li-	'to insert'	*tur̠bi-s-*	'to cause to insert'
var̠gi-	'to speak'	*var̠gi-s-*	'to cause to speak'

-bis-

**iy-* 'to bathe'	*iy-bis-* 'to cause to bathe'
ki- 'to do'	*ki-bis-* 'to cause to do'
sī 'to give'	*sī-bis-* 'to cause to give'

-p-

kūṛ- 'to join'	*kūṛ-p-* 'to attach'
ḍig- 'to descend'	*ḍi-p-* 'to bring down'
nil- 'to stand'	*nil-p-* 'to keep up, set up'
mey- 'to graze'	*mē-p-* 'to cause to graze'
sā- 'to die'	*sa-p-* 'to kill'

(Koraput Dialect)

(i) In this dialect transitive verbs are formed by substituting *-k-* in the place of base final *ṅ* or *g* in certain verbs:

niṅ- 'to rise'	*ni-k-* 'to cause to rise'
marg- 'to hide (intr.)'	*mar-k-* 'to hide (tr.)'
duṅ- 'to hang'	*du-k-* 'to make to hang'

(ii) In a few bases the transitive suffixes are *-p-*, *-pis-* and *-is-*. Base final *m* and *a* are lost before *-p-* and *-is-* respectively.

-p-

ar- 'to fall'	*ar-p-* 'to cause to fall'
īm 'to fly'	*ī-p-* 'to cause to fly'
nam- '(fire) to be extinguished'	*na-p-* 'to extinguish (fire)'
pir- 'to grow'	*pir-p-* 'to cause to grow'

-pis-

sik-	'to laugh'	*sik-pis-*	'to cause to laugh'
uāk-	'to lick'	*nāk-pis-*	'to cause to lick'

-is-

tila-	'to be afraid'	*til-is-*	'to frighten'
paṇḍ-	'to become ripe'	*paṇḍ-is-*	'to cause to become ripe'
aṛba-	'to weep'	*aṛb-is-*	'to cause to weep'

1.11. Pengo

(i) Some intransitive verbs ending in a voiced stop or a nasal plus homorganic stop (*g*, *ṅ*(*g*), *nj*, *ḍ*, *nd*, *d* and *b*) have corresponding transitives ending in a voiceless stop of the same series (*k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p*).

e-ṅ(*g*)	'to be left over'	*e-k-*	'to leave over'
kṛu-ṅ(*g*)	'to sink'	*kṛu-k-*	'to sink'
go-ṅ(*g*)	'to be bent'	*go-k-*	'to bend'
ḍri-ṅ(*g*)	'to be broken'	*ḍri-k-*	'to break'
mṛa-g-	'to fall (on the face)'	*mṛa-k-*	'to cause to fall'
ṛu-g-	'to hide'	*ṛu-k-*	'to hide (tr.)'
ke-nj-	'to be torn'	*ke-c-*	'to tear'
cō-nj-	'to appear'	*cō-c-*	'to show'
ne-nj-	'to be filled'	*ne-c-*	'to fill'
mu-nj-	'to be immersed'	*mu-c-*	'to immerse'
naḍ-	'to be torn, severed'	*na-ṭ-*	'to tear, sever'

paḍ-	'to break (intr.)'	*pa-ṭ-*	'to break (tr.)'
ū-d-	'to become wet'	*ū-t-*	'to urinate'
ē-nd-	'to dance'	*ē-t-*	'to make to dance'
kō-d-	'to smoke'	*kō-t-*	'to burn incense'
lab-	'to fit into'	*la-p-*	'to insert'
maz-	'to turn'	*ma-h-* (*ma-s-t-*)	'to turn (tr.)'
vīz-	'to finish'	*vī-h-* (*vī-s-t*)	'to finish (tr.)'

(ii) In some pairs of verbs the intransitive ends in a nasal (*ṇ*, *n* and *m*) and the corresponding transitive has one of the following markers *ṭ*, *c* and *p* respectively (before these the nasal is lost morphophonemically); before *ṭ* and *c* the preceding vowel is lengthened in two verbs. The intensive suffix *-pa* is sometimes added to the transitive base without adding much to the meaning.

uṇ-	'to drink'	*ū-ṭ-pa-*	'to give to drink'
tin-	'to eat'	*tī-c-/tī-c-pa-*	'to feed'
hōṇ-	'to enter'	*hō-ṭ-pa-*	'to cause to enter'
ūm-	'to fly'	*ū-p-*	'to cause to fly'
dum-	'to ascend'	*du-p-*	'to cause to ascend'

(iii) There are a few verbs in the available material with the transitive markers *-p-* and *-t-*.

ri-	'to be torn'	*ri-p-*	'to tear'
ar-	'to fall'	*ra-t-*	'to let fall'
hō-	'to go out'	*ho-p-*	'to take out'
jū-	'to descend'	*jū-t-*	'to bring down'

1.12. Manda

(i) Some intransitive verbs ending in a nasal plus homorganic voiced stop (*ṅg* or *nj*) or rarely a voiced stop (*g*) have corresponding transitives ending in a voiced stop of the same series (*k* or *c*).

kṛu-ṅg- 'to sink'	*kṛu-k-* 'to submerge'
ḍri-ṅg- 'to be broken'	*ḍri-k-* 'to break' (tr.)
dā-ṅg- 'to be lost'	*dā-k-* 'to lose'
ni-ṅ(g)- 'to rise'	*ni-k-* 'to raise'
ṛu-g- 'to hide'	*ṛu-k-* 'to hide (tr.)'
ke-nj- 'to be torn'	*ke-c-* 'to tear'
mu-nj- 'to sink'	*mu-c-* 'to immerse'

(ii) There are two verbs in the available material, one each with the transitive markers *-t-* and *-ṭ-*.

re- 'to fall'	*re-t-* 'to let fall'
un- 'to drink'	*ū-ṭ-* 'to give to drink'

1.13. Kui

(i) Kui has a large class of verb pairs in which the intransitives end in a voiced stop or homorganic nasal plus voiced stop (*g, ng; j, nj, nd; ḍ, ṇḍ;* or *mb*) and the corresponding transitives in the corresponding voiceless stop or *s* (*k, s, ṭ,* or *p*). This inter-relationship can be descriptively interpreted as due to the morphophonemic change of the intransitive base plus the covert allomorph of the transitive marker.

	-g-, -ng-	*-k-*
(a)	*ē-g-* 'to be open'	*ē-k-* 'to open'
	mū-g- 'to be complete'	*mū-k-* 'to complete'

rā-g-	'to be worn away'	*rā-k-*	'to wear away'
glō-ng-	'to be muddy'	*glō-k-*	'to make muddy or turbid'
tru-ng-	'to become a hole'	*tru-k-*	'to bore, pierce'
drū-ng-	'to swing (intr.)'	*drū-k-*	'to swing (tr.)
ni-ng-	'to rise'	*ni-k-*	'to raise'
mrā-ng-	'to be hidden, be lost'	*mrā-k-*	'to hide, lose'
mlū-ng-	'to be covered'	*mlū-k-*	'to cover'

	-j-, -nj-, -nd-		*-s-*	
(b)	*a-j-*	'to fear'	*a-s-*	'to cause to fear'
	ā-j-	'to become cool'	*ā-s-*	'to make cold'
	ē-j-	'to be separate from'	*ē-s-*	'to separate'
	kṟī-nj-	'to dream'	*kṟī-s-*	'to cause to dream'
	ṟā-nj-	'to marry'	*ṟā-s-*	'to join together in marriage'
	tō-nj-	'to appear'	*tō-s-*	to cause to appear'
	ne-nj-	'to be filled'	*ne-s-*	'to fill'
	kā-nd-	'to be hot'	*kā-s-*	'to heat'
	pro-nd-	'to be lighted (pipe)'	*pro-s-*	'to light'
	rī-nd-	'to be set up on end'	*rī-s-*	'to set up on end'
	-ḍ-, -ṇḍ-		*-ṭ-*	
(c)	*a-ḍ-*	'to be joined to'	*a-ṭ-*	'to join to'
	brā-ḍ	'to be scattered, be spread (news)'	*brā-ṭ-*	'to scatter, spread'

brō-ḍ- 'to be burned to ashes, be scattered (smoke)'	*brō-ṭ-* 'to burn to ashes, scatter (smoke)'
brō-ṇḍ- 'to smoulder, be fanned into flame'	*brō-ṭ-* 'to cause to smoulder, fan into flame'
pū-ṇḍ- 'to meet'	*pū-ṭ-/pū-ṛ-* 'to yoke'

-mb-	*-p-*
(d) *ka-mb-* 'to be burnt'	*ka-p-* 'to scorch'
kṛu-mb- 'to come to an end, fall to pieces'	*kṛu-p-* 'to put an end to, cause to fall in pieces'
grā-mb- 'to learn'	*grā-p-* 'to teach'
ne-mb- 'to be ended'	*ne-p-* 'to finish'
slū-mb- 'to be adjoined'	*slū-p-* 'to adjoin'

(ii) There is a small class of verbs that take one of the transitive markers *-p-*, *-s-*, *-k-*, and *-ṭ-/-ṛ-*. Base final *n* before *s* and *ṇ* or *l* before *ṭ/ṛ* are lost.

-p-

(a) *e-* 'to arrive'	*e-p-* 'to cause to arrive'
jā- 'to descend'	*jā-p-* 'to bring down'
di- 'to fall'	*di-p-* 'to set down'
sā 'to die'	*sā-p-* 'to kill'
ṛuh- 'to lose skin'	*ṛuh-p-* 'to take skin off'
puh- 'to get wet'	*puh-p-* 'to make wet'
plī- 'to be hatched'	*plī-p-* 'to cause to open'
rī- '(fire) burns'	*ē-p-* 'to light'

-s-

(b) *g̣rā-*	'to cross, pass by'	*g̣rā-s-*	'to pass something over or through'
trē-	'to wander around'	*tre-s-(p)/tre-h-*	'to cause to wander'
mi-	'to bathe'	*mi-s-*	'to cause to bathe'
nō-	'to pain'	*no-s-*	'to give pain'
in-	'to say'	*i-s-*	'to cause to say'
tin-	'to eat'	*tī-s-*	'to feed someone on something'
ven-	'to hear to ask'	*ve-s-*	'to cause to hear, to speak'

-k-

(c) *viē-*	'to swell'	*vlē-k-*	'to cause to expand'
vri-	'to be dismantled'	*vri-k-*	'to pull to pieces'

-ṭ-/-ṛ-

(d) *uṇ-*	'to drink'	*ū-ṭ-/ū-ṛ-*	'to cause to drink'
sōl-	'to enter'	*sō-ṛ-*	'to cause to enter'

(iii) When a verb has no corresponding form with the transitive suffix the inflected forms of the verb *gi-* 'to do, make' are added to the infinitive of a verb to convey the transitive or causative sense. *gi-* is occasionally used in this way even with verbs that have corresponding transitives, e.g.,

ānu eani pada pōnga gipki māi.

'I am making his name to spread abroad'.

1.14. Kuvi

(i) A small class of verbs consists of intransitives ending in (N)B with the corresponding transitives ending in P.

ṛu-g-	'to be concealed'	*ṛu-k-*	'to conceal'
tū-ṅg-	'to hang (intr.)'	*tū-k-*	'to hang (tr.)'
ni-ṅg-	'to rise'	*ni-k-*	'to lift up'
ū-d-	'to become wet'	*ū-t-*	'to wet'
ḍa-mb-	'to be broken'	*ḍa-p-*	'to break (tr.)'
ḍu-mb-	'to be extinguished'	*ḍu-p-*	'to extinguish'

(ii) A few verbs show addition of one of the transitive markers *-ṭ-*, *-h-* and *-p-* with characteristic morphophonemic changes.

un-	'to drink'	*ū-ṭ-*	'to give to drink'
ōy-	'to be broken'	*ō-h-*	'to break (tr.)'
nenj-	'to be filled'	*ne-h-*	'to fill'
rā-	'to be finished'	*rā p-*	'to finish'

(iii) In the majority of verbs the transitive-causative meaning is expressed "by using the auxiliary verb *ki-* 'to make' in connection with a special type of verbal participle characterised (except in the first class of verbs where the ordinary verbal participle is used) by a labial element" (T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya 1963:269-270).[4]

4. It is to be noted that the participle employed in this construction is also used in the construction that expresses reciprocal action. In the latter it is followed by the verb *ā-* 'to be, become'.

Class I

ning–i ki– 'to cause to arise'
āy–i ki- 'to allow to cool'

Class II

hi–vi ki 'to cause to give'
vā–vi ki- 'to cause to come'

Class III

pis–pi ki– 'to cause to abandon'
dos–pi ki– 'to cause to tie'

Class IV

kā–pi ki– 'to awaken'
ta–pi ki 'to cause to bring'

Class V

hūphki (<hūkh-pi) ki– 'to cause to open'
kapki (<kak-pi) ki 'to cause to laugh'
kārh–bi ki– to cause to dig'

Class VI

pun–bi ki 'to inform'
veṛk–mbi ki– 'to cause to ask'
hal–bi– ki– 'to cause to go'

Class VII

paṛ–pi par–npi ki– 'to cause to get'

1.15. Kolami

The transitive suffixes in Kolami are *-ap-*, *-ip-*, *-p-*, *-k-* and *-t-*.

-ap-

(a)	*negay-*	'to fly'	*neg-ap-*	'to make to fly'
	neray-	'to be spread'	*ner-ap-*	'to spread (tr.)'
	sendal-	'to be crushed'	*send-ap-*	'to crush'

-ip-

(b)	*muṅg-*	'to be submerged'	*muṅg-ip-*	'to submerge (tr.)'
	dāṭ-	'to cross'	*dāṭ-ip-*	'to make to cross'
	panḍ-	'to become ripe'	*panḍ-ip-*	'to put to become ripe'
	sīril-	'to split (intr.)'	*sīr-ip-*	'to split (tr.)'

-p-

(c)	*āḍ-*	'to play'	*āḍ-p-*	'to make to play'
	tīr-	'to be finished'	*tīr-p-*	'to finish (tr.)'
	melg-	'to shake (intr.)'	*mel-p-*	'to shake (tr.)'
	ḍāṅg-	'to hide (intr.)'	*ḍā-p-*	'to hide (tr.)'

-k-

(d)	*kini-*	'to break to pieces (intr.)'	*kin-k-*	'to break to pieces (tr.)'
	iri-	'to tear (intr.)'	*ir-k-*	'to tear (tr.)'

(e)	*paḍ-*	'(wound) is got'	*par-t-*	'to give (wound)'
	uṇ-	'to drink'	*ur-t-*	'to give to drink'
	ōḍ-	'to burst in pieces'	*ō-ṭ-*	'to smash to pieces'

(ii) In a small number of sets transitive stems with two different suffixes (sometimes with a slight difference in meaning) are found corresponding to a single intransitive stem.

ars-	'to be afraid'	*ar-p-/ars-ip-*	'to frighten'
perg-	'to grow (intr.)'	{ *per-p-*	'to rear (a child)'
		{ *perg-ip-*	'to allow (child) to grow up without providing a spouse for it'
un-	'to drink'	{ *un-ip-*	'to make to drink (not giving with one's own hand)'
		{ *ur-t-*	'to give to drink (giving with one's own hand)'

1.16. Naiki (Ch.)

Transitive verbs in Naiki of Chanda are formed by adding the suffix *-up-* to the intransitive verbs. The *u* in *-up-* is elided before a suffix beginning with a vowel. In a few verbs ending in *y* or *g* the transitive suffix is *-p-* and the preceding *y* or *g* is dropped before it. Some verbs ending in *ṛ* change it to *ṭ* before *-up-*. In a few verbs ending in *y* the transitive suffix has a variant *-ip-*. The *i* in *-ip-* also elided before a suffix beginning with a vowel.

ār–	'to be dry'	*ār-up-*	'to make dry'
āṛ–	'to play'	*āṛ-up–*	'to make to play'
il–	'to stand'	*il-up-*	'to cause to stand'
ud-	'to sit'	*ud-up–*	'to cause to sit'
ēnd–	'to dance'	*ēnd-up–*	'to cause to dance'
ḍig–	'to descend'	*ḍig–up-*	'to cause to descend'
kāy-	'to be hot'	*kā -p-*	'to heat'
suy-	'to rise'	*su-p-*	'to cause to rise'
karug-	'to call'	*karu-p–*	'to cause to call'
ōṛ -	'to break (intr.)'	*oṭ-up–*	'to break (tr.)'
kiṛ -	'(fire) to go out'	*kiṭ-up-*	'to extinguish (fire)'
pay–	'to break, fall'	*pay–ip–*	'to cause to break fall'
vay–	'to burn (intr.)'	*vay-ip–*	'to burn (tr.)'

1.17. Parji

The transitive-causative suffix in this language is *–ip–*/*–it–*[5]. While it is added to the unaltered base in the majority of cases, bases ending in a voiced consonant or the combination, nasal plus voiced consonant usually substitute for this the

5. Regarding the distribution of these two, Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953: 45) state : "There exists a series of verbs, which includes all causatives, terminating in the suffix *–p* alternating with the suffix *–t*. The suffix *–t* appears in the past and future (and in the participial forms, etc. which are formed from the future stem). The suffix *-p* appears elsewhere and in the Northern dialects it is changed to *k* before the present suffix *m*."

corresponding unvoiced consonant.[6] Further, in a number of transitive-causatives an additional suffix *k*,[7] *c*, *t* or *p* is inserted between the base and the transitive-causative suffix. (In the following instances the transitive-causative stem with *–ip–* alone is given.)

(a)	*tāk-*	'to walk'	*tāk-ip-*	'to make to walk'
	tuñ–	'to go to sleep'	*tuñ-ip–*	to put to sleep'
	noy-	'to be painful'	*noy–ip–*	'to cause to pain'
	pañ–	'to be satisfied'	*pañ–ip-*	'to satisfy'
	vaṅg–	'to be bent'	*vaṅg–ip–*	'to bend'
	mī–	'to bathe'	*mī- p–*	'to cause to bathe'
(b)	*kerj-*	'to warm oneself'	*ker–c-ip–*	'to cause to warm oneself'
	ulj–	'to assemble'	*ul-c–ip–*	'to cause to assemble'

6. Regarding this classification, Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953:46) observe: "In old Dravidian, as found in Tamil for instance, this substitution was in itself sufficient to form the causative base, so that in Parji the older and simpler causal forms have been enlarged by the addition of the suffix *ip*/*it* which has been generalized as the causal suffix."

7. According to Burrow and Bhattacharya(1953:47)bases that take this *-k-* were originally ending in *g* : "But these roots contained an original guttural, e. g., *iṛ–* (variants *iṛv–*, *iṛi*) is from **iṛg–* (=Te. *ḍigu*), so that originally their formation was on a parallel with that of those immediately above. On the other hand in the case of the addition of *c*, *t*, *p* in the examples given below, a suffix which was itself originally causative is found between the root and the generalized causative suffix *-ip*, *–it*."

ōḍ- 'to break'	*ō-ṭ-ip-* 'to cause to break'
pōd- 'to be wet'	*pō-t-ip-* 'to make wet'
ūṅg- 'to swing (intr.)'	*ū-k-ip-* 'to swing (tr.)'
cīṅg- 'to be torn'	*cī-k-ip-* 'to tear'
parṅg- 'to be split'	*par-k-ip-* 'to split'
ūñ- (< **ūñj-*) 'to swing' (intr.)	*ū-c-ip-* 'to swing (tr.)'
eñ- (< **eñj-*) 'to wake up'	*e-c-ip-* 'to cause to wake up'
ēnd- 'to dance'	*ē-t-ip-* 'to cause to dance'
(c) *taṛ-* (S. *taṛi-*, *taṛv-*) 'to be hot'	*taṛ-k-ip-* 'to heat'
iṛ- (S. *iṛi-*, *iṛv-*) 'to descend'	*iṛ-k-ip-* 'to make to descend'
nir- 'to blaze'	*nir-k-ip-* 'to kindle, set fire to'
mer- 'to learn'	*mer-c-ip-* 'to teach'
aṛ- 'to weep'	*aṛ-t-ip-* 'to cause to weep'
tin- 'to eat'	*ti-t-ip-* 'to give to eat'
nil- 'to stand'	*ni-t-ip-* 'to cause to stand'
un- 'to drink'	*un-ṭ-ip-* 'to give to drink'
narc- 'to be afraid'	*nar-p-ip-* 'to frighten'
muy- 'to be covered'	*muy-p-ip-* 'to cover'
mēy- 'to graze'	*mē-p-ip-* 'to cause to graze'
nūṛ- 'to put on (loin cloth, dhoti)'	*nūṛ-p-ip-* 'to put (loin cloth, etc.) on another'
māy- 'to get lost'	*māy-p-ip-* 'to lose'
pē-p-/pē-t- 'to come out'	*pē-p-ip-* 'to cause to come out'

1.18. Gadba (Ollari)

The transitive suffix is *-p-/-t-*. "The *-t* base is used for the past and present-future tenses, while the *-p* base is used to form the imperative, negative and conditional verbs." (so Bhattacharya 1956a:38.)

aṛ- 'to cry'	*aṛ-p-/aṛ-t-* to make to cry'
iṛg- 'to descend'	*iṛig-p-/iṛig-t-* to make to descend'
endk- 'to play'	*endik p-/endik-t-* 'to make to play'

1.19. Kuṛux

The transitive-causative suffixes are *-tāʔa-* (with variants *-t-* in the future and often *-tā-* in the past), *-ābaʔa-* and *-d-* (after verbs ending in *n*).

-tāʔa-

(a)	*esʔ-* 'to break'	*es-tāʔa-* 'to cause to break'
	cūr- 'to be obstructed'	*cūr-tāʔa-* 'to be obstruct'
	corg- 'to crawl'	*corg-tāʔa-* 'to cause to crawl'
	on- 'to eat'	*on-d-* 'to feed'

-ābaʔa-

(b)	*sikhr-* 'to learn'	*sikh-ābaʔa-* 'to teach'
	bilr- 'to be destroyed'	*bil-ābaʔa-* 'to destroy totally'
	caṭ- 'to lick'	*caṭ-ābaʔa-* 'to make lick'

1.20. Maltò

(i) The transitive-causative suffix in Malto is *-tr-*; it has an allomorph *-d-* after verbs ending in *n* and also after some others.

-tr-

(a) *quandr-*	'to sleep'	*quandr-tr-*	'to put to sleep'
alq-	'to laugh'	*alq-tr-*	'to cause to laugh'
bong-	'to run, flee'	*bong-tr-*	'to cause to run, flee'
bācar-	'to be saved'	*bāca-tr-*	'to save'
mēnj-	'to make'	*mēnj-tr-*	'to cause to make'
baj-	'to strike'	*baj-tr-*	'to cause to strike'
sikar-	'to learn'	*sika-tr*	'to teach'

-d-

(b) *ōn-*	'to drink'	*on-d-*	'to cause to drink'
pūn-	'to put on (as a necklace)'	*pun-d-*	'to make to put on'
ēr-	'to see'	*ē-d-*	'to show'
uṛ-	'to be satisfied'	*uṛ-d-*	'to satisfy'

(ii) A transitive or causative base with the suffix *-tr-* can again take the causative suffix *-tit-* in this language. *-tit-* thus converts a transitive base into a causative one and a causative base into a double causative base.

et-	'to come down'	*et-tr-*	'to take down'	*et-tr-tit-*	'to cause to take down'

uṛr- 'to fall or drop down'	*uṭ(r)-tr-* 'to throw down'	*uṛr-tit-*(< **uṛr-tr-tit-*) 'to cause to let fall'
baj- 'to strike (tr.)'	*baj-tr-* 'to cause to strike'	*baj-tr-tit-* 'to cause (someone) to cause (another) to strike'
qāp- 'to watch (tr.)'	*qāp-tr-* 'to cause to watch'	*qāp-tr-tit-* 'to cause (someone) (to cause another) to watch'

(iii) Malto, unlike the other Dravidian languages, has a method of forming intransitive bases from transitive ones. The suffix that is added to a transitive base to convert it into an intransitive one is *-gr-* (with a variant *-r-* in a few instances).

Transitive	*Intransitive*
	-gr-
(a) *is-* 'to tear'	*is-gr-* 'to be torn'
ic- 'to take off'	*ic-gr-* 'to come off'
amb- 'to let go'	*amb-gr-* 'to be left'
mēnj 'to make'	*mēnj-gr-* to be made'
	-r-
(b) *nōṛ-* 'to wash another'	*nōḍ-r-* 'to wash (oneself)'
qōs- 'to crush'	*qōs-r-* 'to be crushed'
toq- 'to cut off'	*toq-r-* 'to be cut off'
ej- 'to waken (someone)'	*ej-r-* 'to be awake'

1.21. Brahui

(i) The transitive–causative suffix in this language is *-if-* (it has a variant *-f-* after bases ending in a vowel).

bin- 'to hear'	*bin-if-* 'to make to hear cause to be heard'
bārr- to become dry'	*bār-if-* 'to make dry'
khul-/khulī- 'to fear'	*khul-if-/khulī-f-* 'to frighten'
khall- 'to strike'	*khal-if-* 'to cause to strike'
sal-/salī- 'to stand'	*sal-if-/salī-f-* 'to make to stand'
khan- 'to see'	*khan-if-* 'to make to see, cause to be seen'
mann- 'to become'	*mar-if-* 'to make to become'
bann- 'to come'	*bar-if-* 'to make to come'
pān- 'to say'	*pār-if-* 'to cause to be said'
kann- 'to do'	*kar-if-* 'to cause to be done'
kaʔ- 'to die'	*kas-f-/kas-if-* 'to kill'
khwāʔ- 'to graze'	*khwā-f-* 'to cause to graze'
ras-ēng- / *ras-* } 'to arrive'	*ras-ē-f-* / *ras-if-* } 'to make to arrive'
ḍakk- 'to hide'	*ḍakk-if-* to cause to be hidden'

(ii) The suffix *-if-* can be added to a transitive or causative base that already contains *-if-* to convert it into a double causative in Brahui.

ka? 'to die'	*kas-f-* 'to kill'	*kas-f-if-* 'to cause to be killed'
khulī- 'to be afraid'	*khulī-f-* 'to frighten'	*khulī-f-if* 'to cause to be frightened'

(iii) "A few verbs, such as *harrif(ing)* 'to ask', *harf(ing)* 'to lift up', *soṭēf(ing)/soṭif(ing)* 'to provoke' are causals in appearance, but if they are really causals, the simple verbs have dropped out of the language." (so Denys de S. Bray 1909:179).

COMPARATIVE STUDY

1.22. Reconstructed Suffixes

On the basis of the comparative study of the material presented above, the following transitive-causative suffixes can be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. 1. -(V)PP- (mostly *-kk-, *-ṯṯ- and *-ṭṭ-), 2. *-tt- (with the variants *-ṭṭ- and *-ṯṯ-), 3. *-pp- and 4. *-cc-. In addition, the suffix *-vi-* (∞ *-ppi-*) occurring mainly in Old Tamil and Malayalam as the the causative suffix may also be traced back to the Proto-Dravidian stage (see § 1.27).

The development and the distribution of these original suffixes in the individual languages will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

1.23. *-(V)PP

(i) The above study shows that in the following Dravidian languages, a considerable number of instransitive verbs ending in a single stop(phonemically voiced in all the languages excepting Tamil-Malayalam) or the sequence homorganic nasal plus single stop (phonemically voiced in all the languages excepting Tamil–Malayalam)[8] have the corresponding transitives ending in a voiceless stop (double in Tamil and Malayalam and also reconstructed so to Proto-Dravidian but single in the rest of the languages): Tamil Malayalam–Kota–Toḍa–Koḍagu (hereafter called Tamil-Koḍagu) of South Dravidian and Konḍa-Pengo-Manḍa-Kui-Kuvi (hereafter called Konḍa–Kuvi) of Central Dravidian. Although this process is not very common in Kannada, it nevertheless has a handful verbs that show this process (see § 1.6.)

Even though the present-day Parji language does not show this type of alternation it has a class of verbs in which the voiced stop or the combination, nasal plus voiced stop of the intransitive verb is replaced by the corresponding voiceless stop before the transitive suffix *-ip-*/*–it–*. As pointed out by Burrow and Bhattacharya (see note 6) the comparative study shows that such transitive bases were originally (i.e. in pre-Parji) having the voiceless stop itself as the transitive marker

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8. Note that in the case of **–k–*, its reflex in Tamil, Malayalam and Toda in the intervocalic position is the velar voiceless (not voiced) fricative *x;* it is an allophone of *k* in Tamil-Malayalam, while in Toda it is a phoneme distinct from *k*.

and that *-ip-*/*-it* has been analogically extented to them at a later stage (also see the following examples). This analogical extension of *-ip-*/*-it-* to these verbs has made the preceding voiceless stop, that was originally a morpheme with the meaning 'transitive', a mere morphonemic variant of the corresponding (nasal plus) voiced stop before *-ip-*/*-it-*. therefore, we can conclude that Parji also was having this process in some of its verbs in its earlier stages.

Kolami has a solitary instance for this process *ōḍ-* 'to burst (intr.) : *ō-ṯ-* 'to break (tr.) (also Nk. *ōṛ-* to break (intr.) : *ō-ṭ-* 'to break' (tr.) ; Pa. *ōḍ-* 'to break' (intr.) : *ō-ṭ-ip-* 'to cause to burst'; 799). It shows that Kolami was also having in its early stages this process of which only one set remains at present.

Similarly this process is not present in Kuṛux and Malto but a few transitive verbs in them seem to be directly derived from the Proto-Dravidian transitive verbs that are formed according to this process, i.e.

1. Malto *aṛ-k-* 'to thrust or wedge in' <PDr. * *aṭ-akk-* 'to control' transitive of **aṭ-aṅk-* to be subdued' ; 56).

2. Kur. *oṛ-ok-* 'to crush out of shape'; Malt. *oṛ-g-* 'to blunt' (intr. *oṛ-g-r-*)< PDr. **oṭ-ukk-* 'to subjugate', transitive of **oṭ-unk-* 'to be restrained'. Kur. intransitive *oṛ-og-* 'to press' may be from PDr. **oṭ-unk-*; 804).

3. Kur. *pū-kh̲-* 'to boil (tr.)' (intr. *pū-kh̲-r-*), Malt. *pū-g-* 'to swell (tr.)' (intr. *pū-g-r-*)< PDr. **po-kk-* 'to boil (tr.)', transitive of **po-nk-* 'to boil'; 3658).

4. Kur. *mur-uk* 'to cut into bits', Malt. *mur-k-* 'to cut into bits' (intr. *mur-k-r-*) < PDr. **mur-ukk-* 'to break, destroy', tr. of **mur-unk-* 'to be broken, torn'; 4078).[9]

Any feature that is common to more than one subgroup in a linguistic family can be considered to be the property of the proto-language unless there are reasons to believe that the commonness is due to borrowing or areal spreading at a later stage, parallel development, or chance resemblance. In our present study we find that process of forming the transitive bases from the intransitives by changing the final (N)P of the latter into PP is very common in the Tamil–Malayalam–Kota–Toda–Koḍagu group of South Dravidian and the Koṇḍa–Pengo–Maṇḍa–Kui–Kuvi group of Central Dravidian. In addition, Parji has evidence to show that it also had it in its earlier stages and Kannada (South Dravidian), Kolami (Central Dravidian) and Kuṛux-Malto (North Dravidian) have retained vestiges of it. Therefore we can very easily reconstruct this feature to the Proto-Dravidian stage. All the languages other than those mentioned above have obviously lost the original transitive bases that were formed according to this process.

(ii) From the evidence provided chiefly by the groups Tamil-Malayalam-Kota-Toda-Koḍagu and Koṇḍa-Pengo-Maṇḍa-Kui-Kuvi it is possible to reconstruct a good number of sets of intransitive verbs (ending in (N)P) and their

9. It is to be noted that in most of the above instances he original intransitive bases have been replaced in Kuṛux-Malto by new ones created by adding the suffix *-r-* to the transitive bases.

corresponding transitives ending in PP. The following are the examples.

1.	Ta. *aṭ-aṅku* 'to be subbed'	*aṭ-akku* 'to control'
	Ma. *aṭ-aṅṅu* 'to be pressed down'	*aṭ-akku* 'to press down'
	Ko. *aṛg-* 'to stop'	*aṛ-k* 'to cause to stop'
	To. *oḍ-g-* 'to be quiet'	*oḍ-k-* 'to subdue'
	Ka. *aḍ-a-(ṅ)gu* 'to be humbled'	*aḍ-aku*/ *aḍ-acu* 'to press down'
	Te. *aḍ-ā̃gu* 'to be humbled'	*aḍ-ā̃cu* 'to humble'
	ḍā̃-gu 'to be hidden'	*ḍā̃-cu* 'to hide'
	Kol. *ḍā-ṅg-* 'to hide (intr.)'	*ḍā-p-*/*ḍā-ṅg-ip-* 'to hide (tr.)'
	Malt.	*aṛ-k-* 'to trust or wedge in'
	PDr. **aṭ-ank-*	PDr. **aṭ-akk-* (56(a))
2.	Ta. *am-uṅku* 'to be pressed down'	*am-ukku* 'to press'
	Ma. *am-uṅṅu* 'to be squeezed'	*am-ukku* 'to squeeze'
	Ko. *amg-* 'to be pressed hard'	*am-k-*/*am-c-* 'to press'
	To. *om-x-* 'to be pressed down'	*om-k-* 'to press down'
	Ka. *am-ugu* 'to yield to pressure'	*am-uku*/*am-ucu* 'to press firmly'
	PSDr. **am-unk-*	PSDr. **am-ukk* (143)

3.	Ta. *ar–uku*	'to become scarce'	*ar–ukku*	'to make scarce'
	Ko. *ar-g–*	'to be reduced'	*ar–k–*	'to use up extravagantly'
	To. *ar–x–*	'to be subdued'	*ar–k–*	'to subdue'
	PSDr. *ar–uk–		PSDr. *ar–ukk–	(184)
4.	Ta. *al-aṅku*	'to shake (intr.)'	*al–akku*	'to shake (tr.)'
	Ko. *al–g–*	„	*al–k–*	„
	To. *al–x–*	„	*al–k–*	„
	Ka. *al-agu*	„	*al–acu*	„
	Kui. *lā-ng–*	'to be fickle'	*lā-k–*	'to change a person's character'
	PDr. *al-ank–		PDr. *al-akk-	(203)
5	Ta. *ā/aku*	'to be'	*ā–kku*	'to cause to be'
	Ma. *āku*	„	*ā-kku*	„
	Ko. *āg–*	„	*ā–k–/ ā–kc–*	„
	To. *ōx–*	„	*ō-k–*	„
	Koḍ. *āg–*	„	*ā-k-*	„
	Ka. *āgu–*	„	*āg–isu*	„
	Te. *agu*	„	*kā–vincu*	„
	Kol. *an–*	'to be in a place'	*ā–p–*	'to keep in a place'
	NK. *anḍ–*	'to be'	*a–kk–*	'to make'
	PDr. *āk–		PDr. *ā-kk-	(282)
6.	Ta. *āṭu*	'to move (intr.), dance'	*aṭ–ṭu*	'to move (tr.), cause to dance'
	Ma. *āṭu*	„	*āṭ-ṭu*	„

	Ko.	āṛ-	'to move(intr.), dance'	ā-ṭ-	'to give birth to (child)'
				āṛ-c-	'to make to move'
	To.	ōḍ-	,,	ōḍ-c-	'to make to dance'
				ō-ṭ-	'to shake violently'
	Kod.	āḍ-	'to move(intr.), dance'	ā-ṭ-	'to shake violently'
	Ka.	āḍu	,,	āḍ-isu	,,
	Tu.	āḍu	,,	āḍ-ā-	,,
	Te.	āḍu	'to play'	ār-cu/āḍ-incu	'to cause to play'
	Kol.	āḍ-	,,	āḍ-p-	,,
	PDr.	*āṭ-		PDr. *āṭ-ṭ-	(290)
7.	Ta.	āṟu	'to grow cool'	āṟ-ṟu	'to cool (tr.)'
	Ma.	āṟu	,,	aṟ-ṟu	,,
	Ko.	ār-	'to become dry'	ā-t-	'to dry'
	To.	ōṟ-	,,	o-ṯ-	,,
	Koḍ.	ār-	,,	ā-t-	,,
	Ka.	āru	,,	aṟ-isu	,,
	Tu.	āju	,,	āj-ā	,,
	Te.	āṟu	'to grow cool, be extinguished'	āṟu-cu/ār-cu	'to cool'
				ār-pu	'to extinguish'
	Kol.	ār-	'to become dry'	ār-p-	'to make dry'
	Kui.	āj-	'to become cool'	ā-s-	'to make cold'
	PDr.	*āṯ-		PDr. *āṯ-ṯ-	(346)
8.	Ta.	iḻ-i(-nt-)	'to descend'	iḻ-i (-tt-)	'to lower'
				iḻ-i-ttu	,,
				iḻ-i-ccu	,,

Ma. *il̠-i (-ññ-)* 'to descend'	*il̠-i (-cc-)* 'to lower'
Ko. *ū-g-* 'to slide down'	*ū-k-* 'to cause to slide down'
To. *i-x-* 'to descend'	*i-k-* 'to put down (burden)'
ū-x- 'to glide along'	*ū-k-* 'to make to glide along'
Koḍ. *īḷi-(iñj-)* 'to descend'	*īḷī-p-/* (Mercara) *ī-p-* 'to lower'
Ka. *il̠-i* ,,	*il̠-i-ku* 'to cause to go down'
Te. *ḍi-(g)gu* ,,	*ḍi-ncu/* *ḍi-mpu* } ,,
Go. (Koya.) *ḍi-gg-* ,,	} *ḍi-pp-* ,,
Kui. *di-* ,,	*di-p-* ,,
Kol. *ḍig-* ,,	*di-p-* *di-g-ip-* } ,,
Nk. *ḍi-gg-* ,,	*ḍig-ap-* *ḍi-g-up-* } ,,
Nk(Ch.) *ḍi-g(il)-* ,,	*ḍi-g-ap-* *di-g-up* } ,,
Pa. *iṛ-/iṛ-v-/* (S.) *iṛi-* ,,	*iṛ-k-ip-* ,,
Ga. (Oll.) *iṛ-g-* ,,	*iṛ-ig-p-* ,,
PDr. **il̠-i-/* **il̠-i-k-*	PDr. **il̠-i-pp-/* **il̠-i-kk-* (426)

9. Ta. *iḷ-aku* 'to shake (intr.)'	*iḷ-akku* 'to shake (tr.)'
Ma. *iḷ-aku* ,,	*iḷ-akku* ,,

	Ko. *eḷ-g-* '(something) is slightly raised'	*eḷ-k-* 'to lift slightly from position'	
	Koḍ. *ëḷ-*[10] 'to leave one's position'	*ëḷ-ak-* 'to make to leave a position'	
	Tu. *lakku* 'to rise'	*lakk-ā-* ,,	
	PSDr. **eḷ-ak-*	PSDr. **eḷ-akk-*	(432)
10.	Ta. *iṟ-aṅku* 'to descend'	*iṟ-akku* 'to lower'	
	Ma. *iṟ-aṅṅu* ,,	*iṟ-akku* ,,	
	Ko. *er-g-* 'to go down'	*er-k-* 'to put down (load)'	
	Koḍ. *ër-aṅg-* '(food, liquid) slips down throat'	*ër-ak-* 'to let slip down throat slowly'	
	Ka. *eṟ-agu* 'to become low'	*eṟ-ag-isu* 'to cause to become low'	
	PSDr. **eṯ-ank-*	PSDr. **eṯ-akk-*	(439)
11.	Ta. *ūṅku* 'to swing (intr)'	*ū-kku* 'to swing (tr.)'	
	Te. *ũgu* ,,	*ũ-cu/ũ-pu/ūg-incu* ,,	

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10. M. B. Emeneau in his paper "Koḍagu Vowels" § 4(2) has noted the change **-aku*/-**uku* >Koḍ. *-u*, eg.,

Koḍ. *maḷu* 'chillies', : Ta. Ma. *miḷaku* 'black pepper', Ko. *meḷg* 'chilli', To. *möḻx* 'pepper' (3986).

Koḍ. *alu* 'cowrie' : Ta. *alaku* 'number, cowries used in reckoning' (202).

Koḍ. *kaḍu* 'mustard seed' : Ta. Ma. *kaṭuku*, Ko. *kaṟg*, To. *koṟx* 'id.' (953).

This change has taken place in verb bases also as shown by Koḍ. *ëḷ-*: Ta. Ma. *iḷ-aku*. 'to dissolve' (569), Koḍ. *kar-* 'to be digested' : Ko. *kar-g-* 'to dissolve (intr.)', To. *kar-x-*, Ka. *kar-agu*, etc.

	Nk. *ūṅg-* 'to swing(intr.)'	*ū-p-* 'to swing (tr.)'
	Pa. *ūñ-* ,,	*ūc-ip-* ,,
	(S.) *ūg-* ,,	*ūk-ip-* ,,
	PDr. **ūnk-*	PDr. **ū-kk-* (629)
12.	Ta. *oṭ-i (-nt-)* 'to break (intr.)'	*oṭ-i (-tt-)* 'to break (tr.)'
	uṭai (-nt-) ,,	*uṭai (-tt-)* ,,
	Ma. *oṭ-i (-ññ-)* ,,	*oṭ-i (-tt-)* ,,
	uṭay (-ññ-) ,,	*uṭav (-cc-)* ,,
	Ko. *oṛ-v- (oṛ-d-)* ,,	*oṛ-v- (oṛ-t-)* ,,
		oṛ-c- 'to break (kindling)
	To. *waṛ- (waṛ-θ)* ,,	*waṛ-f- (waṛ-t-)* 'to break (tr.)'
	wīṛy- (wīṛ-s-) '(joints) crack'	*wīṛy- (wīṛ-c-)* 'to crack (joints)'
	Koḍ. *oḍ-e (oḍ-a-nd)* ,,	*oḍ-a (oḍ-a-t-)* ,,
	Ka. *oḍ-i, uḍ-i* ,,	*oḍ-i-su/ uḍ-i-su* 'to break (tr.)'
	Tu. *oḍ-i/oḍ-e* ,,	*oḍ-i-pu/oḍ-e-pu* ,,
	Te. *ōḍu* 'to be defeated'	*oḍ-ucu/ōr-cu/ōḍ-incu* 'to defeat'
	Go. *vōr-* 'to break' (intr.)	*vo-h-* 'to break (tr.)
	ur-ūṅ- ,,	*ur-ūs-* ,,
	Pe.	*ō-h-* 'to smash (clods)'
	Kui. *ōj-* 'to be broken'	*c-h-* ,,
	Kuvi (Su.) *ōy-* ,,	*ō-h-* ,,
	Kol. *ōḍ-* ,,	*ō-ṭ-* ,,
	Nk. *ōṛ-* ,,	*ō-ṭ-* ,,

Pa. *ōḍ-* 'to be broken'	*ō-ṭ-ip-* 'to smash (clods)'
Proto-Ta.-Koḍ. **oṭ-i-/ *oṭ-ay-(-nt-)*	Proto-Ta.-Koḍ- **oṭ-i-/ *oṭ-ȧy-(-tt-)*
Proto-Go-Kui. **ōṯ-*	Proto-Go-Kui. **ōṯ-ṯ-*
PDr. **ōṭ-*	PDr. *+ōṭ-ṭ-* (799)
13. Ta. *oṭ-uṅku* 'to be restrained'	*oṭ-ukku* 'to subjugate'
Ma. *oṭ-uññu* 'to come to an end'	*oṭ-ukku* 'to finish'
Ko. *oṛ-g-* 'to be destroyed'	*oṛ-k-* 'to reduce (iron) in breadth'
To. *wīṛ-g-* 'to be crushed'	*wīṛ-k-* 'to crush'
Ka. *uḍ-ugu* 'to subdue, shrink'	*uḍ-uk-isu/uḍ-ug-isu* 'to cause to shrink'
Te. *uḍ-ugu* 'to give up'	*uḍ-upu* 'to make to give up'
Kui. *ḍū-mb-* 'to be shrunken'	*ḍū-p-* 'to cause to shrink'
Kur.	*oṛ-ok-* 'to crush out of shape'
Malt. *oṛ-g-r-* 'to become blunt'	*oṛ-g-* 'to blunt'
PDr. **oṭ-unk-*	PDr. **oṭ-ukk-* (804)
14. Ta. *kal-aṅku* 'to be confused, disturbed'	*kal-akku* 'to confuse, disturb'
Ma. *kal-aññu* ,,	*kal-akku* ,,
Ko. *kal-g-* ,,	*kal-k-* ,,
To. *kal-x-* ,,	*kal-k-* ,,
Koḍ. *kal-aṅg-* ,,	*kal-ak-* ,,

	Ka.	'to be confused, disturbed'	*kal-a(ṅ)ku/ kal-ak-isu*	'to confuse, disturb'
	Tu. *kal-aṅku*	„	*kal-aṅk-ā*	„
	Te. *kal-ãgu*	„	*kal-ãcu*	„
	Kur.		*xal-ax-*	'to make muddy (as water)'
	Malt.		*qal-g̣-*	'to disturb (as water)'
	PDr. **kal-ank-*		PDr. **kal-akk-*	(1096)
15.	Ta. *kūṭu*	'to come together'	*kūṭ-ṭu*	'to unite (tr.)'
	Ma. *kūṭu*	„	*kūṭ-ṭu*	„
	Ko. *kūṛ-*	„	*kū-ṭ-*	„
	To. *kūṛ-*	„	*kū-ṭ-*	„
	Koḍ. *kūḍ-*	„	*kū-ṭ-*	„
	Ka. *kūḍu*	„	*kūḍ-isu*	„
	Tu. *kūḍu*	„	*kūḍ-ā-/ kūḍ-is-ā-*	„
	Te. *kūḍu*	„	*kūr(u)-cu*	„
	PDr. **kūṭ-*		PDr. **kūṭ-ṭ-*	(1562)
16.	Ta. *tuḷ-aṅku*	'to move (intr.)'	*tuḷ-akku*	'to move (tr.)'
	Kui. *tlā-ng-*	'to be rocked to and fro'	*tlā-k-*	'to rock (tr.)'
	PDr. **tuḷ-ank-*		PDr. **tuḷ-akk-*	(2762)
17.	Ta. *tūṅku*	'to be suspended'	*tū-kku*	'to suspend, hang'
	Ma. *tūṅṅu*	„	*tū-kku*	„

	Ko. *tūg-* 'to be suspended'	*tū-k-*	'to suspend, hang'
	To. *tūx-* ,,	*tū-k-*	,,
	Koḍ. *tūṅg-* ,,	*tū-k-*	,,
	jū-ṅg- 'to sway (snake)'	*jū-k-*	'to sway (tr.)'
	Ka. *tūgu/tūṅku* 'to be suspended'	*tūgu/tūṅku*	'to weigh'
	Tu.	*tū-ku*	,,
	Te. *tū̃-gu* ,,	*tū̃-cu*	,,
	Konḍa. *dūṅ-* ,,	*dū-k-*	,,
	Pe. *tūṅ(g)-* ,,	*tū-k-*	,,
	Manḍ. *trūṅg-* ,,	*trū-k-*	,,
	Kui. *drūng-* ,,	*drū-k-*	,,
	(K) *dūṅg-* ,,		
	Kuvi. (Su.) *tūṅg-* ,,	*tū-k-*	,,
	PDr. **tūnk-*	PDr. **tū-kk-*	(2777 a)
18.	Ta. *tēṟu* 'to be clarified'	*tēṟ-ṟu*	'to make clear'
	Ma. *tēṟu* ,,	*teṟ-ṟu*	,,
	To. *tȫṟ-* 'to improve (in health)'	*tȫ-ṯ-*	'to make improve (in health)'
	Te. *tēṟu* 'to become clear'	*tēṟu-cu* / *tēr-cu*	'to make clear'
	Kui. *tij-* 'to wake up (intr.)'	*ti-s-*	'to awaken (tr.)'
	PDr. **tēṯ-*	PDr. **tēṯ-ṯ-*	(2856)
19.	Ta. *tōṉṟu* 'to appear'	*tō-ṟṟu*	'to cause to appear'
	Ma. *tōnnu* "	*tō-ṟṟu*	"
	Ka. *tōr/tōcu* "	*tōṟ-isu*	"

	Tu. *tōju*	,,	*tōj-ā-*	,,
	Te. *tō̃cu*	,,	*tō-pincu*	,,
	Go.		*tō-h-*	,,
	Koṇḍa. *tōṟ-*	,,	*tō-R-*	,,
	Pe. *cōnj-*	,,	*cō-c-*	,,
	Manḍ. *hūnj-*	,,	*tū-c-*	,,
	Kui. *tōnj-*	,,	*tō-s-*	,,
	Kuvi(F) *tōnj-/*		(F) *tō-ss-/*	
	(Su.) *cōnj-*	,,	(Su.) *tō-h-*	,,
	PDr. **tōnṯ-*		PDr. **tō-ṯṯ-*	(2942)
20.	Te. *niṇḍu*	'to be filled'	*nim-pu*	'to fill'
	Go. *nind-*	,,	*ni-h-*	,,
	Koṇḍa. *niṉṟ-/nin-*	,,	*ni-R-*	,,
	Pe. *nenj-*	,,	*ne-c-*	,,
	Manḍ.		*ne-h-*	,,
	Kui. *nenj-*	,,	*ne-h-/ne-s-*	,,
	ne-mb-	'to be finished'	*ne-p-*	'to finish'
	Kuvi. *nenj-*	'to be filled'	*ne-ss-/*(S.Su.)*ne-h-*	'to fill'
	Kol. *niṇḍ-*	'to become full'	*niṇḍ-p-*	,,
	Nk. *niṇḍ-*	,,	*ni-pp-*	,,
	Nk.(Ch.) *in-*	,,	*ind-up/in-p-*	,,
	PDr. **ninṯ-*		Proto-Go-Kui. **niṯ-ṯ-/ *neṯ-ṯ-* (?PCDr. **ninṯ-(V)pp-*)	(3049)

21.	Ta. *nī. nī-ṅku*	'to be removed'	*nīk-ku*	'to remove'
	Ma. *nī-ṅṅu*	,,	*nī-kku*	,,
	Ko. *nī-g-*	'to cover a large expense'	*nī-g-c*	'to make to cover a large expense'
	To. *nī-x-*	'to crawl (snake-wise)'	*nī·k-*	'to brush away (dirt)'
	Koḍ. *nī-ng-*	'to go aside'	*nī-k-*	'to put aside'
	Ka. *nī-gu*	'to quit'	*nīg-isu*	'to cause to quit'
	PDr. **nī-nk-*		PDr. **nī-kk-*	(3052)
22.	Ta. *maṭ-aṅku*	'to become bent'	*maṭ-akku*	'to bend, fold'
	Ma. *maṭ-aṅṅu*	,,	*maṭ-akku*	,,
	Ko.		*maṛ-k-*	,,
	To. *moṛ-g-*	,,	*moṛ-k-*	,,
	Koḍ.		*maḍ-ak-*	,,
	Ka. *maḍ-i*	,,	*maḍ-i-su/maḍ-acu*	,,
	Tu. *maḍ-i*	,,	*maḍ-i-pu*	,,
	Te. *maḍ-ãgu*	,,	*maḍ-ãcu*	,,
	Pa.		*maḍ-k-ip-*	,,
	PDr. **maṭ-ank-*		PDr. **maṭ-akk*	(3796)
23.	Ta. *māṟu*	'to become changed'	*māṟ-ṟu*	'to change'
	Ma. *māṟu*	,,	*māṟ-ṟu*	,,
	Ko *mār-*	,,	*mā-t-*	,,
	To. *mōṟ-*	,,	*mō-ṯ-*	,,
	Koḍ. *mār-*	'to sell'	*mā-t-*	,,

	Ka.	*māṟu*	'to be sold'	*mā-ṟu*	'to sell'
	Te.	*māṟu*	'to be change'	*māru-cu/mār-cu*	,,
	Kui.			*mā-s-k-*	to exchange' (pl. action)
	Kuvi.			*mā-s-k-*	,,
	PDr.	**māṯ-*		PDa. **māṯ-ṯ-*	(3960)
24.	Ta.	*muk-i(-nt-)*	'to be finish'	*muk-i(-tt-)*	'to finish'
	Ka.	*mug-i*	,,	*mug-isu-*	,,
	Tu.	*mugi-*	,,	*mug-i-pu*	,,
	Te.	*mugiyu*	,,	*mug-iñcu*	,,
	Kui.	*mūg-*	,,	*mū-k-*	,,
	PDr.	**mūk-*		PDr. **mūk-k-*	(4005)
25.	Ta.	*muṭ-aṅku*	'to bend'	*muṭ-aṅku*	'to cause to bend'
	Ka.	*muḍ-ugu*	,,	*muḍ-ugu*	,,
		muḍ-uku	,,	*muḍ-uku*	,,
	Te.	*muḍ-ũgu*	'to become closed'	*muḍ-ũcu*	'to close (tr.)'
	Pa.	*muḍ-*	'to stoop, bend'	*muḍ-ip-*	'to make to stoop, bend'
	PDr.	**muṭ-ank-*		PSDr. **muṭ-akk-*	(4028)
26.	Ta.	*mur-uṅku*	'to be destroyed'	*mur-ukku*	'to destroy'
	Te.	*bru-ngu*	'to die'	*bru-ncu*	'to kill'
	Kui.	*mru-ng-*	'to be torn'	*mru-k-*	'to tear'
	Kol.			*mur-k-*	'to split (wood)'
				(SR) *mur-k-*	'to break'
	Nk.	*mur-*	'to break (intr.)'	*mur-k-*	,,

	Kur.			*mur-uk*	'to abscind'
	Malt.			*mur-k-*	'to cut into bits'
	PDr.	**mūr-/*mur-unk-*		PDr. **mur-ukk-*	(4078)
27.	Ta.			*vā-kku*	'to pour (tr.)'
	Ko.			*vā-k-*	'to pour out slowly'
	To.	*pōx-*	'to flow down completely'	*pō-k-*	'to empty out completely'
	Koḍ.			*bā-k-*	'to pour off water from cooked rice'
	Ka.			*bā-gu*	,,
	Go.	*vāng-*	'to trickle'		
	Kui.	*vāng-*	'to leak'	*vā-k-*	'to cause to leak'
	Kuvi.	*vāng-*	,,	*vā-k-*	,,
	Kol.	*vāng-*	'to pour or ladle (liquid)'		
	Ga.	*vāng-*	'to leak'		
	PDr.	**vānk-*		PDr. **vā-kk-*	(4370)
28.	Ta.	*viḷ-aṅku*	'to shine, be clean'	*viḷ-akku*	'to make clean'
	Ma.	*viḷ-aṅṅu*	'to be polished'	*viḷ-akku*	'to polish'
	Ko.	*veḷ-g-*	'(country) becomes light before dawn'	*veḷ-k-*	'to clean with water'
	To.	*pöḶ-x-*	'to dawn'	*pöḶ-k-*	'to make to dawn'
	Ka.	*beḷ-agu*	'to become bright'	*beḷ-ag-isu*	'to cause to become bright'
	Tu.	*beḷ-agu*	,,	*beḷ-ag-ā*	,,
	Te.	*vel-ũgu*	,,	*velĩg-incu*	,,
	PDr.	**veḷ-ank-*		PDr. **veḷ-akkk-*	(4524)

(iii) It is clear from the above examples that this type of transitive formation was existing in Proto-Dravidian in verbs (other than those of the (C) VCV type) ending in the velar stop (whether or not preceded by the homorganic nasal, i.e. *-k-* or *-nk-*), the alveolar stop (whethe or not preceded by the homorganic nasal, i.e. *-ṯ-* or *-nṯ-*) and in the retroflex stop *ṭ* not preceded by the homorganic nasal.[11] Statistically sets ending in the velar stop are numerous both in Proto-Dravidian as well as in the individual daughter languages and next come those ending the alveolar or the retroflex stop.

Sets ending in the retroflex stop are there commonly only in the Tamil-Koḍagu group of South Dravidian and therefore strictly speaking they can be reconstructed only to the Proto-Tamil-Koḍagu stage.[12] However, since the Kolami-Parji group or Central Dravidian has one set (see above, example 12, *DED* 799) ending in *ḍ* (<**ṭ*) : *ṭ* (<**ṭṭ*) it is certain that this process in the verbs ending in *ṭ* goes back

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11. It is to be noted that for the operation of this process it is immaterial whether these form part of the root or the derivative suffix, e.g **āṭ-* : **āṭ-ṭ-* (290), **kal-ank-* : **kal-akk-* (1096). Therefore designating the derivative suffixes *-ank-*, etc. in **kal-ank-*, etc. as "intransitive" is not altogether justifiable.

12. Kui has four bases ending in *ḍ* and one in *nḍ* that form the transitive according to this process (see P.S. Subrahmanyam, 1965 : 553); excepting the set *aḍ-* 'to be joined to' : *a-ṭ-* 'to join to' (69 (a), the derivative suffixes even in the intransitives of them do not go back to any earlier stage. *a-ṭ-* in the above-mentioned set may be analogical since this process was originally not operating in bases of the (C)VCV type.

to the Proto-Dravidian stage. The set in the Kolami-Parji group cannot be due to analogy since in this group there are no other sets containing this process to serve as the models.

(iv) This process is found in a few bases ending in *mp* (or *mb*) in both the Tamil-Koḍagu as well as the Koṇḍa-Kui groups. However, such bases of the Tamil-Koḍagu group do not have cognates with *mp* in the Koṇḍa-Kui group and *vice versa*. Moreover, in most of these instances the transitive suffix -*pp*- is more widely distributed in the sister languages while the corresponding intransitive -*mp*- is restricted only to a few languages. We can conclude from this situation that in all the instances the -*pp*- transitive marker was older and the corresponding intransitive marker -*mp*- has been created in the individual languages or language groups on the analogy of sets with intransitive *-*nk*-, *-*nṯ*- : transitive *-*kk*-, *-*ṯṯ*-. Before the creation or addition of -*mp*- in such cases, the root itself (with or without a following vowel) might have functioned as the intransitive base.

Examples:

1.	Ta. *eḻ-u*	'to rise'	*eḻ-uppu*	'to cause to rise'
	eḻ-umpu	"		
	Ma. *eḻ-u*	"		
	eḻ-umpu	"		
	Ko. *eṛ-v-(eṛ-d-)*	"	*eṛ-v- (eṛ-t-)*	"
	To. *öḍ-(öḍ-θ)*	"	*öṛ-f-(öṛ-t-)*	"
			öṛ-t-	"
	Koḍ. *ëḷ-*	"	*ëp-p-*	"
	Ka. *eḻ, ēḻ(u)*	"	*er-bu, eb-bu*	"

Tu. *er-ku-*	*er-pu-* 'to cause to rise'
Br.	*ʔē-f-*, *ʔar-f-* ”
PDr. **ēḻ*, **eḻ-u-*	PDr. **eḻ-uppu-* (723(a))
2. Ta. *tir-i (-nt-)* 'to turn'	*tir-i (-tt-)* 'to turn (tr.)'
tir-umpu ”	*tir-uppu* ”
tir-uku ”	*tir-ukku* ”
Ma. *tir-i (-ññ-)* ”	*tir-i (-cc-)* ”
tir-umpu ”	*tir-ippu* ”
tir-uku ”	*tir-ukku* ”
Ko. *tir-y-* ”	*tir-c-* ”
tir-g- ”	*tir-k-* ”
To. *tīr-y-* 'to twist (tr.)'	*tīr-c-* 'to translate'
tīr-x- 'to turn'	*tīr-k-* 'to turn (tr.)'
tīr-b- 'to twist (tr., cane, bamboo)'	*tīr-p-* 'to turn (key)'
Koḍ. *tir-īg-* 'to wander'	*tir-īk-* 'to turn (tr.)'
ter-aṅg- 'to shift'	*ter-ak-* 'to shift (tr.)'
Ka. *tir-i-* 'to turn'	*tir-i-cu* 'to turn (tr.)'
tir-ugu 'wander'	*tir-upu/tir-umpu* 'cause to wander'
Tu. *tir-ṅgu* 'to turn, wander'	*tir-pu* 'to turn (tr.) cause to wander'
Te. *tir-ugu* ”	*tri-ppu* ”
Konḍa. *tir-i-* ”	*tir-p-* ”
Manḍ. *tri-mb-* ”	
Kuvi.(F) *teṛ-mb-* ”	*ti-p* ”
(S) *ter-mp-* ”	*tre-p-* ”
Kol. *tir-g-* ”	*ti-p-* (< Te.) ”
Nk. *tir-g-* ”	*ti-pp-* (< Te.) ”
Kur. *ter-em-* ”	

	PDr. **tir-/*tir-uk-* (**tir-um-*)		PDr. **tir-upp-* Proto-Ta. Koḍ. **tir-ukk-* (2655)	
3.	Ta. *nir-a*	'to be fill'	*nir-appu*	'to fill'
	nir-ampu	”		
	Te. *nerayu*	”	*ner-apu*	”
	Kol. *ner-ay-*	'to spread (intr.)'	*ner-ap-*	'to spread (grain)'
	PDr. **ner-a-*		PDr. **ner-app-* (3041)	
4.	Ta. *kal*	'to learn'	*kaṟ-pi*	'to teach'
	Tu. *kal*	”	*kal-pā-*	”
	Te. *kaṟ-acu*	”	*kaṟ-apu*	”
	Pe. *ja-pa-*	”	*ja-p-*	”
	Manḍ. *ja-pa-*	”	*ja-p-*	”
	Kui. *grā-mb-*	”	*grā-p-*	”
	Kuvi. *jā-p-*	”	*jā-p-*	”
	Kol. *kar-p-*	”	*kar-p-*	”
	PSDr. **kal-*		PDr. **kal-pp-/*	
	PDr. **kaṯ-*		**kaṯ-app-* (1090)	
5.	Te. *neṟ-ayu* / *ni-ṇḍu*	'to become full'	*neṟ-apu* / *ni-mpu*	'to fill, fulfil'
	Kui. *ne-mb-*	'to be finished'	*ne-pp-*	'to finish'
	PDr. **niṯ-*		PCDr. **niṯ-app-* (3049)	

In the above examples (excepting the last one) the transitive bases with *-pp-* are there in languages belonging to more than one subgroup and therefore go back to the Proto-Dravidian stage. On the other hand, the correspon-ding intransitive bases with *-mp-* are restricted only to a few

languages. In them also forms without this **-mp-* also are in use in some cases, e.g. Ta. Ma. *eḻ-umpu* besides *eḻ-u,* Ta. Ma. *tir-umpu* besides *tir-i, tir-uku,* etc. Therefore we can conclude that the **-mp-* in Ta. Ma. *eḻ-umpu, tir-umpu,* (also To. *tīr-b-*),[13] Ta. *niṟ-ampu,* Kui *grā-mb-, ne-mb-,* etc. is a recent innovation. It has been added to these bases analogically to bring these verbs in line into the class of sets with intransitive ending in (N)P and the corresponding transitive in PP.

In Tamil this process occurs in a few bases ending in *nt* also. Ta. *aḻ-untu* 'to become pressed' : *aḻ-uttu* 'to press' (244), *tir-untu* 'to be correct' : *tir-uttu* 'to correct' (2659). The intransitive bases in these are created analogically and even Malayalam does not have forms corresponding to them while the transitive bases have corresponding forms in many other languages and therefore go back to Proto-Dravidian (Ta. *aḻ-uttu,* Ma. *aḻ-uttu,* Ko. *a-j-,* Ka. *aḻ-du, ad-du,* Tu. *ar-du,* Te. *ad-du;* Ta. *tir-uttu,* Ma. *tir-uttu,* Ko. *tir-t-,* To. *tī-d-,* Kod. *tid-d-,* Ka. *tir-du, tid-du,* Tu. *tid-du,* Te. *did-du.*)

Similar analogical remaking or creation of the intransitive bases is to be found in the other languages also.

Ta. *nīḷ*	'to be long, be extended'	*nīṭ-ṭu*	'to lengthen, extend'
nīṭu	"	"	"

13. Manḍ. *tri-mba-* and Kuvi (F) *tēṟ-mb-,* (S) *ter-mp-* also have added the **-mb-* due to analogy independently; this development has not taken place in Konḍa and Kui altough these four languages are very intimately related. Therefore these forms cannot be taken as evidence to reconstruct **tir-ump-* to Proto-Dravidian.

Ma. *nīḷ* / *nīṭu*	'to be long, be extended'	*nīṭ-ṭu*	'to lengthen, extend'
Ko. *nīṛ*	'(iron) becomes longer by expansion'	*nī-ṭ-*	'to lengthen (iron)'
To. *nīṛ-* / *nīḷ-*	'to be stretched	*ni-ṭ-*	'to stretch out'
Koḍ. *nīḍ-*	"	*nī-ṭ-*	"
Ka. *nīḷ-*	"	*nī-ḍu*	"
Tu.		*nī-ḍu*	"
Te. *nīl-ugu*	'to stretch one's limbs'		
Kui. *nīl-*	'to stand, be set up'		
PDr. **nīḷ-*		PDr. **nīṭ-ṭ-*	(3059)
Proto-Ta.-Koḍ. **nīṭ-*.			

The Tamil-Koḍagu group in this instance contains both *nīḷ- and *nīṭ- as intransitives while Kannaḍa, Telugu and Kui give evidence only for *nīḷ-. Therefore it is obvious that *nīṭ- has been created in Proto-Tamil-Koḍagu as the matching form for the transitive *nīṭ-ṭ-.

2. Ta. *ñāl*	'to hang (intr.)	*ñāṟ-ṟu*	'to hang (tr.)'
Ma. *ñāl*	"	*ñēṟ-ṟu*	"
Koḍ. *nēr-*	"	*nē-t-*	"
Ka. *nēl-*	"		
Tu. *nēli*	"		
PSDr **ñāl-*		PSDr. **ñāṟ-ṟ-*	(2373)

In this Koḍagu has *nēr-* instead of **nēl-* that is to be expected on the basis of the comparative evidence. Sets like

mār- (< **māṯ-*) 'to sell' : *mā-t-* (< **māṟ-ṟ-*) 'to change (tr.)' (3960) in this language might have influenced the earlier **nēl-* to change to *nēr-*.

3.	Ta. *cur-uḷ*	'to become coiled'	*cur-uṭ-ṭu*	'to roll up'
	Ma. *cur-uḷ*	,,	*cur-uṭ-ṭu*	,,
	Ko. *cur-ṇ-*	,,	*cur-ṭ-*	,,
	To. *tūḷ-*	,,	*tū-ṭ-*	,,
	Koḍ *tur-īḍ-*	,,	*tur-īṭ-*	,,
	Te. *dor-alu*	,,		
	PDr. **cur-uḷ-*		PDr. **cur-uṭ-ṭu*	(2211)

In this also the Koḍagu form is aberrant; instead of the expected form *tur-īḷ-* with final *ḷ* we find *tur-īḍ-* with a final *ḍ*. According to the phonetic laws Koḍagu *ḍ* does not correspond to original **ḷ*. The explanation for *ḍ* therefore is that earlier *tur-īḷ-* has been changed into *tur-īḍ-* on the analogy of sets like *āḍ-* (< **āṭ-*) 'to move' : *ā-ṭ-* (< **āṭ-ṭ-*) 'to make to move' (290) in which corresponding to a transitive base ending in *ṭ*, the intransitive bases ends in *ḍ*. Also note that in Ko. *cur-ṇ-* also the final *ṇ* instead of the expected *ḷ* is analogical.

It is clear that in the above instances the intransitive suffixes of the P or NP type are later in origin than the corresponding transitive suffixes of the PP type. Therefore the following statement of Bh. Krishnamurti (1961:157) is not always true: "Since most of the languages have overt allomorphs for the formation of transitives but not for that of intransitives (i.e., a dental, palatal or labial stop), it may

be assumed that historically NP sequences are earlier than their corresponding PP ones, when these sequences are related as intransitive and transitive".

(v) Finally we come to the problem whether the process of transitive formation in bases ending in a stop or homorganic nasal plus stop by replacing it by the corresponding double stop is basically different from the process (i e. addition of a transitive suffix) found in the bases that end in a vowel or a non-stop consonant.[14] Many of the earlier scholars who treated the subject consider the two processes as distinct from each other. Robert Caldwell (1856:450–55) considers the first mode – "Intransitive themes become transitive by the hardening and doubling of the consonant of the appended formative" as distinct from the third mode – "A third mode of converting intransitives into transitives by adding a particle of transition to the theme or root." Subrahmanya Sastri (1934 : 147) also distinguishes between causals "formed by the doubling of the final consonant" or "of the consonant of the formative" and those formed "by adding

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14. In my earlier paper (1965 : 554–56) I suggested that the "plural action forms" of Kui and Kuvi may somehow be related to the derived transitive bases and that the meaning "transition" or "causation" is originally related to (or, derived from) the meaning "plural action", i.e., "doing a thing many times" or "doing a number of things" as explained by W. W. Winfield (1928 : 143). The suffixes of the "plural action forms" are closely similar to the transitive suffixes and for the semantic connection, we may note the development of the Indo-Aryan causative from the original iterative formation. The connection, if there was any, between the two formations belongs to very early stages of Dravidian.

the particle '*ttu*' to the root." Ramaswami Aiyar (1928) goes to the extent of saying that: "There are two sets of causal verbs in Dravidian, one set formed on the basis of an ancient and obsolete method and the other resulting from a more modern method which is still active." Krishnamurti (1961 : 264–67) also says: "There are two types of structural relation between the intransitive and transitive or causative verb stems in Dravidian: Type I: Nasal + stop combinations in the final syllable of the intransitive base alternating with stop+stop combination in the transitive (or causative) base; or a voiced stop with or without a preceding homorganic nasal alternating with the corresponding voiceless stop (single or double)...Type II: Addition to or substitution for the final syllable of the intransitive stem of a morpheme of transition or causation." Recently Burrow and Bhattacharya (1963 : 269) also have stated: "There are still to be found in Kuvi a considerable number of transitive/causatives formed after the old style, i.e. by modification of the verbal base in the same way as in the other Dravidian languages."

However, the foregoing discussion makes it abundantly clear that the two processes are in complementary distribution in the languages in which both of them exist (or in some instances like Ta. *aṭ-akku*/*aṭ-aṅku-vi-* they are in free variation). Therefore it is more proper to treat all derived transitive bases of a language as consisting of one single transitive morpheme with different allomorphs. In the bases ending in P or NP (in Tamil-Koḍagu, Koṇḍa-Kuvi and Proto-Dravidian) it has a covert allomorph (represented as ∅ or X) and the morphophonemic change (N) P+{Tr.} → PP

accounts for the double stop of the transitive base. In other words, it is quite unjustifiable to treat the "doubling" in bases ending in a stop as a morpheme that is distinct from the transitive morpheme that occurs elsewhere. It is worth-while to note that Ramaswami Aiyar has, in his 1938 paper, already explained the "gemination" or "doubling" as due "to the *sandhi* action of *tt*, the causative forming affix......... on the different endings of the non-causatival bases from which these causatives are formed :

I. *ṅg* + *tt* = *kk*
ḍ + *tt* = *ṭṭ*
ṟ + *tt* = *ṟṟ*"[15]

However, it is difficult for us to agree with Ramaswami Aiyar (see his statement in the 1928 paper quoted above) and Burrow and Bhattacharya when they designate the process of "doubling" as the "ancient and the obsolete method" or "the old style" since it is active even in the present-day in the languages of the Tamil-Koḍagu and the Koṇḍa-Kuvi groups although it has disappeared in many other languages.

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15. Note that in Dravidian there is evidence for this sandhi in the oblique base formation (e.g., Ta. *vīṭu* 'house' : obl. *vīṭ-ṭ*<**vīṭ-tt-* (4419); Ta. *yāṟu* 'river' : obl. *yāṟ-ṟ-*< **yāṟ-tt-* (4233)) and also in the past stem formation (see chapter II). However, we need not agree with Ramaswami Aiyar in identifying the transitive allomorph in these bases with *tt*; instead we can represent it as Ø or X. N. Kumaraswami Raja (1969 : 70-74) morphophonemically represents Ta. *kalakk-*, tr. of *kalaṅk-* 'to be disturbed', etc. as **kalaṅk-k-*, etc. However, owing to lack of evidence in any language, it cannot be definitely said that such forms were originally having the nasal at the phonemic level too.

In all the three main subgroups of Dravidian there are languages that have lost the transitive bases with final PP (corresponding to the intransitives with final (N)P. They are Kannaḍa (except for a few cases) and Tuḷu of South Dravidian, Telugu, Gondi and the Kolami-Parji group (with certain exceptions, see above) and all the three North Dravidian languages, Kuṛux, Malto and Brahui. Since so many languages or language groups show this loss, it should have operated in them individually and at different periods.[16]

1.24. *-tt- (~ *-ṭṭ- ~ *-ṯṯ-).

The reflexes of this suffix occur in all the languages except Telugu and Brahui. In the Tamil-Koḍagu group it is somewhat common both in its assimilated and unassimilated forms. Besides, the transitive suffix *-taʔ- (~ -d-)* of

16. Therefore Krishnamurti is not justified when he takes this feature of Telugu as "additional evidence to class Telugu with the Central and North Dravidian group of languages." He says (1961 : 266–67): "Telugu, Central Dravidian (except Kui-Kuvi-Koṇḍa), and the North Dravidian languages are characterised by the absence of the Type I construction. This provides us with additional evidence to class Telugu with the Central and North Dravidian group of languages. There is evidence that both types were present in PDr., but Type I mainly was prevalent in the area occupied by the present SDr. languages and Type II in that of CDr. and NDr. including Telugu. Kui is enclosed by both the major isoglosses. There is, therefore, overlapping of the two isoglosses in the CDr. area with NDr. and SDr. outside the overlapping zone." In South Dravidian also, type II is as prevalent, if not more, as type I, as shown by the above study.

Kuṛux and *-tr-* (~ *-d-*) of Malto and the causative suffix *-tit-* of Malto are obviously related to PDr. **-tt-* and they became very productive in these languages. In the rest of the languages (excepting Telugu and Brahui) traces of the assimilated variants of it alone have remained. (for the morphophonemic rule, see § 1.1.)

Gondi contains the *-h-* transitive suffix (it becomes ∅ in the Koya dialect) in a small class of verbs (see P. S. Subrahmanyam 1968 : 50, 180). In three of them, i.e. *ti-h-* 'to feed' (<PDr. **tīṯṯ-*, 2670(a)), *tō-h-/to-h-* 'to show' (<PDr. **tōṯṯ-*, 2942) and *ni-h-* 'to fill' (PDr. **niṯṯ-*, 3049), it must be the development of original **-ṯṯ-*. In the remaining verbs that take *-h-*, it cannot be phonologically related to any original transitive marker, e.g. in *u-h-* 'to cause to drink' it is impossible to say that the *-h-* is from original **-ṭṭ-* (PDr. **ūṭṭ-*, 516) since there are no other instances where the retroflex **-ṭṭ-* develops to *-h-* in Goṇḍi. In such cases, therefore, we have to assume that the *-h-* (<**-ṯṯ-*) spread analogically.

It has already been mentioned that according to Ramaswami Aiyar the "doubling" of the base final P or NP in the formation of the transitive base is the result of the sandhi change of (N)P plus the transitive suffix *-tt-*.

Examples:

1.	Ta. *kaṭa*	'to pass through'	*kaṭa-ttu*	'to cause to go, pass'
	Ma. *kaṭa*	"	*kaṭa-ttu*	".

	Ko. *kaṛv-*	'to cross (river)'	*kaṛ-t-*	'to cause to go, pass'
	To. *kaḍ-*	'to cross'	*kaṛ-t-*	,,
	Koḍ. *kaḍa-*	,,	*kaḍa-t-*	,,
	Kur. *kaṭṭ-*	,,	*kaṭ-taʔ-/ kaṛ-taʔ-*	,,
	Malt. *kaṭ-*	,,	*kaṭ-tr-*	,,
	PDr. *kaṭa-		PDr. *kaṭa-tt-*	(929)
2.	Ta. *kāy*	'to grow hot'	*kāy-ttu* / *kāy-ccu*	'to heat'
	Ma. *kāy*	,,	*kā-ccu*	,,
	Ko. *kāy-*	,,	*kā-c-*	,,
	To. *kōy-*	,,	*kō-c-*	,,
	Koḍ. *kāy-*	,,	*kā-c-*	,,
	Kur. *xāy-*	'to dry up'	*xai-d-*	'to make dry'
	PDr. *kāy-		PDr. *kāy-tt-	(1219)
3.	Ta. *cēr*	'to become united'	*cēr-tth*	'to join, gather'
	Ko. *cēr-*	,,	*cē-t-*	,,
	To. *sȫr-*	'to arrive'	*sȫ-t-*	,,
	Koḍ. *kë̄r-*	'to go upto nouse'	*kë̄-t-*	'to take (person) into house'
	PDr. *cēr-		Proto-Ta.Kod. *cēr-tt-	(2312)
4.	Ta. *naṭa*	'to walk'	*naṭa-ttu*	'to cause to walk'
	Ma. *naṭa*	,,	*naṭa-ttu*	,,
	Ko. *naṛv-*	,,	*naṛ-t-*	,,
	To. *naṛ-*	,,	*naṛ-t-*	,,
	Koḍ. *naḍa-*	,,	*naḍa-t-*	,,
	PDr. *naṭa-		Proto-Ta.Koḍ. *naṭa-tt-	(2957)

5.	Ta. *para*	'to spread'	*para–ttu*	'to spread' (tr.)
	Ma. *para*	,,	*para–ttu*	,,
	Ko. *par–d–*	,,	*par–t–*	,,
	Koḍ. *para–*	,,	*para–t-*	,,
	PDr. **para–*		Proto-Ta.Kod. **para–tt–* (3255)	
6.	Ta. *uṇ*	'to eat or drink'	*ūṭ-ṭu*	'to make one eat one's food'
	Ma. *uṇ*	,,	*ūṭ–ṭu*	
	Ko. *uṇ*	'to drink'	*ū-ṭ-*	'to suck'
	Ka. *uṇ-*	'to eat'	*ū-ḍu*	'to cause to eat'
	Konḍa. *uṇ(ḍ)-*	'to drink'	*u–ṭ–pis–*	'to cause to drink'
	Pe. *uṇ–*	,,	*u–ṭ–pa–*	,,
	Manḍ. *un–*	,,	*ū–ṭ-*	,,
	Kui. *uṇ–*	,,	*ū–ṭ–/ū–ṛ–*	,,
	Kuvi (F) *ūnd–*	,,	*ū-th-*	,,
	(Su) *un–*	,,	*ū–ṭ–*	,,
	Kol. *un–*	,,	*ur-t–/ūr–t–*	,,
	Nk. *un–*	,,	*ūr-t–*	,,
	Kur. *ōn–*	,,	*ōn–taʔ-*	,,
	Malt. *ōn–*	,,	*on–d-*	,,
	PDr. **uṇ–*		PDr. **ūṭ–ṭ–* (516)	
7.	Ta. *kāṇ*	'to see'	*kāṭ–ṭ–u*	'to show'
	Ma. *kāṇ*	,,	*kāṭ–ṭu*	,,
	Ko. *kaṇ-/kāṇ–*	,,	*kāṭ–ṭ–*	,,
	To. *kōṇ–*	,,	*kō–ṭ–*	,,
	Koḍ. *kāṇ–*	,,	*kā–ṭ–*	,,
	PDr. **kāṇ–/*kaṇ-*		PDr. **kāṭ–ṭ–* (1209)	

8.	Ta. *tiraḷ*	'to become round'	*tiraṭ-ṭu*	'to make round lumps or balls'
	Ma. *tiraḷ*	,,	*tiraṭ-ṭu*	,,
	Ko. *terṇ-*	,,	*ter-ṭ-*	,,
	Ka. *teraḷu*	,,	*tera-ṭu*	,,
	PDr. *teraḷ-		PDr. *teraṭ-ṭ-	(2654)
9.	Ta. *puraḷ* / *piraḷ*	'to be upset'	*puraṭ-ṭu*	'to turn up'
	Ma. *puraḷ*	,,	*puraṭ-ṭu*	'to turn about, roll (tr.)'
	piraḷ	,,	*piraṭ-ṭu*	,,
	Ko. *porṇ-/pōṇ*	,,	*por-ṭ-/pō-ṭ-*	,,
	perṇ-	,,	*per-ṭ-*	,,
	To. *pīḷ-*	,,	*pī-ṭ-*	,,
	PSDr. *puraḷ-/*piraḷ-		PSDr. *puraṭ-ṭ-/piraṭ-ṭ-	(3516)
10.	Ta. *pūṇ*	'to put on, be yoked'	*pūṭ-ṭu*	'to lock, yoke'
	Ma. *pūṇ*	,,	*pūṭ-ṭu*	,,
	Ko.		*pū-ṛ-*	'to yoke'
			pū-ṭ-	'to fit (tr.)'
	To. *pūḷ-*	'to wear around'	*pū-ṭ-*	'to tie around someone else's neck'
	Ka. *pūṇ*	'to fix (as an arrow)'	*pū-ḍu*	'to join' (tr.)
	Koṇḍa.		*pū-ṭ-*	'to fasten bullocks to the plough, yoke'
	Pe.		*pū-ṭ-*	'to yoke'
	Kui. *pūnḍ-*	'to meet'	*pū-ṭ-/pū-ṛ-*	,,
	Kuvi (F)		*pū-th-*	,,

	Ku. *pundur-*	'to pass round one's neck'	*pun-d-*	'to yoke'
	Malt. *pūn-*	'to put on one's own neck'	*pun-d-*	'to put on another's neck'
	PDr. *pūṇ-*		PDr. **pūṭ-ṭ-*	([illegible]577)
11.	Ta. *tiṉ*	'to eat'	*tiṟ-ṟu*	'to feed'
	Ma. *tin*	"	*tiṟ-ṟu*	"
	Ko. *tin-*	"	*ti-ṯ-*	'to feed by hand'
	Kod. *tinn-*	"	*tī-t-*	"
	Ka.		*tī-ṟu*	'to take mouthfuls'
	Go. *tin-*	"	*ti-h-*	'to feed'
	Pe. *tin-*	"	*ti-c-/tī-c-pa*	"
	Kui. *tin-*	"	*tī-s-*	"
	Kuvi.(F.) *tinj-*	"	*tī-ss-*	"
	(Su) *tin-*	"	*ti-h-*	"
	Pa. *tin-*	"	*ti-tt-ip-*	"
	Kur.		*tin-d-*	"
	Malt.		*tin-d-*	"
	PDr. **tin-*		PDr. **tīṯ-ṯ-*	(2670 (a))

1.25. * *-pp-*.

The reflexes of this suffix occur in all the languages excepting Kota, Goṇḍi, Kuṛux [17] and Malto. Its reflexes

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17. Kuṛux *-āba?-* (§ 1.19) is most probably a borrowing from Indo-Aryan, e.g. Hindi *kar-* 'to do', *kar-ā-* 'to cause to do', *kar-v-* 'to cause (somebody) to cause (someone else) to do'. Therefore it may not be derived from this PDr. **-pp-* suffix. See also Ramaswami Aiyar 1928 who however says, "In any case, we seem to stand here in the rather dim border land between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian."

are somewhat productive in Tuḷu, Telugu and Kolami. Parji *-ip-* (and also Gadaba(Ollari) *-p-*) and Brahui *-if-* which are its reflexes have been extended to all verbs at the cost of the other original suffixes. The peculiarity in Parji in this regard is that this *-ip-* has not replaced the original snffixes but rather it has been added to verbs that contain the other transitive suffixes (i.e. *-k-*, *-c-*, *-t-* and *-p-*). In this process it made them lose their original morphemic value. However, the comparative evidence proves beyond doubt that originally these themselves were the transitive markers and that the *-ip-* occurring after them in Parji is a later addition due to analogy in that language, e.g.

1. *ūk-ip-* 'to swing (tr.)' from *ūṅg-* 'to swing' : Ta. *ūṅku-* 'to swing (intr.)' : *ū-kku* 'to swing (tr.)' (629)

2. *ōṭ-ip-* 'to cause to break' from *ōḍ-* 'to break (intr.)' : Kol. *ōḍ-* 'to break (intr.)' : *ō-ṭ-* 'to cause to break'. (799)

3. *mēp-ip-* 'to graze (tr.)' from *mēy-* 'to graze' : Te. *mēyu* 'to graze' : *mē-pu* 'to cause to graze' (4179).

It is to be noted here that in Parji and Gadba (Ollari) *-ip-* / *-p-* have the variants *-it-* / *-t-* in the past and the future formations. A comparison between Kolami-Naiki and Parji-Gadba will show that *-it-* / *-t-* in the latter group is from earlier * *-ip-t-* / * *-p-t-*. The original sequences are preserved in Kolami-Naiki as shown by the following examples:

Kol. *kiṭ-ip-* (*kiṭ-ip-t-*) *vaṅg-ip-* (*vaṅg-ip-t-*) *dig-ip-*(*dig-ipt-*)

Nk. *kiṭ-ip-*	—	*ḍi-pp-*
Nk. (Ch.) *kiṭ-(u)p-*	—	*ḍig-(u)p-*
Pa. *ciṭ-ip-* (*ciṭ-i-t-*)	*vaṅg-ip-* (*vaṅg-i-t*)	*iṛk-ip-* (*iṛk-i-t-*)
Ga. (Oll.) *siṭ-p-* (*siṭ-t-*)	—	*iṛig-p-* (*iṛig-t-*)
'to extinguish (1614)	'to bend (tr.)' (4371)	'to make to descend' (426)

Old Kannaḍa had its reflex in a few instances although in later Kannaḍa it has been replaced by *-su*.

It has already been observed (§ 1.22(iv)) that in the sets with intransitive *-mp-* and transitive *-pp-* of the Tamil-Koḍagu and the Konḍa-Kuvi groups, the transitive suffix *-pp-* (<**-pp-*) is earlier and that the intransitive bases have been enlarged by the addition of *-mp-* on the analogy of sets containing *-ṅk-*.: *-ṉṯ* in the intransitive and *-kk-*, *-ṯṯ* in the transitive. This development took place in the two groups independently of each other.

1.26. **-cc-*

(i) This suffix is entirely absent in Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu, Kolami, Naiki (Ch.) and the three Northern languages Kurux, Malto and Brahui. It is prevelent in Toda, Kota, Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Telugu, Gonḍi, and Konḍa. Pengo and Kui contain a small class of verbs with its reflex. In Parji verbs like *ū-c-ip-* 'to swing (tr.)' (629), *ker-c-ip-* 'to cause to assemble' (1636), *mer-c-ip-* 'to teach' (3865) etc. contain a *-c-* element before the generalised transitive marker *-ip-*. The *-c-* in such cases might have been the transitive suffix originally.

Kannaḍa *-isu* (also *-cu*) and Goṇḍi *-ūs-* (Koya *-is-*), which are the reflexes of this suffix, have been extended to almost all bases at the expense of the other original suffixes.

In Telugu *-cu* is fairly common; the *-ncu* in the causative suffix *-incu* of this language must also be from *-*cc-*, although at present we do not have a satisfactory explanation for the nasal in it. *-incu* is very productive in this language.

The *s* in Koṇḍa *-is-*, *-pis-* and *-bis-* must also be from this; these Koṇḍa suffixes are also fairly productive like Telugu *-incu*.

In the Tamil-Koḍagu group of languages original *-tt-* transitive becomes *-cc-* after bases ending in *i* or *y* (see § 1.24 example 2 (*DED* 1219); also Ta. *iḻi-ttu*/*iḻi-ccu* 'to lower' (*DED* 426) etc. This *-cc-* of this group, therefore, is not related to the PDr. *-*cc-* transitive suffix.

The two Nilgiris languages Kota and Toda although belonging to this group, have the *-c-* transitive suffix in numerous bases that end in phonemes other than *-i* or *y*, e.g. Ko. *āṛ-c-* 'to make to move', To. *ōḍ-c-* 'to make to dance' (290); Ko. To. *kal-c-* 'to teach' (1090); Ko. *keṛ-c-* 'to ruin', To. *kōṛ-c-* 'to kill', *kōḍ-c-* 'to destroy' (1614); Ko. *tir-c-* 'to cause (calf) to change its smell', To. *tīr-c-* 'to translate' (2655); Ko. To. *tīr-c-* 'to finish' (2683); To. *naḍ-c-* 'to conduct' (2957), Ko. *nān-c-* 'to make to be wetted' (3006); Ko. *nil-c-*, *nin-c-* 'to make to stand', To. *nil-c-* 'to stop (tr.)' (3043); Ko. *paṛ-c-* 'to make to lie' (3190); To. *pū-c-* 'to put (garment) on someone else' (3577);

Ko. *ōk-c-* 'to cause to go' (3734); To. *mūx-c-* 'to destory' (4096); Ko. *viṟ-c-* 'to make to leave', To. *pīṟ-c-* 'to drive away', *pīḍ-ʒ-* 'to get released' (4419). It is obvious that in cases like the above the *-c-* could not have developed from **-tt-* and that therefore it is the reflex of original **-cc-*. Since Tamil, Malayalam and Koḍagu, with which Kota and Toda are very intimately related do not have any traces of the **-cc-* suffix, the widespread usage of its reflexes in Kota and Toda may be due to the influence of Kannaḍa (through its dialect Baḍaga) in which *-isu* (<**-cc-*) is the only transitive marker.

The Kui suffix *-s-* in many instances is derived from **-cc-*, e.g. *kā-s-* 'to heat' (1219), *mi-s-* 'to give bath' (3995)' *no-s-* 'to give pain (3143), etc. However, in *ti-s-* 'to feed' (2670 (a)), *tō-s-* 'to show' (2942), *ti-s-* 'to wake up' (2856) and *ne-s-* 'to fill' (3049), the *-s-* is from **-ṯṯ-*. On the analogy of PDr. **tin-* 'to eat' : **tiṯ-ṯ-* 'to feed' (2670 (a)), **veṯ-ṯ-* 'to cause to hear', to tell' as the causative of *ven-* 'to hear' (4472 & 4498) has been formed in Proto-Gonḍi-Kuvi. The forms from **veṯṯ-* are : Go *veh-*, Konda. *ve-R-*, Pe. *ve-c-*, Mand. *ve-h-*, Kui. *ve-s-* and Kuvi *ve-ss-*, (Su.) *ve-h-*. Similarly, on the analogy of PDr. **tōnṯ-* 'to appear' : **tōṯ-ṯ-* 'to show' (2942) the transitive **niṯ-ṯ-* 'to fill' (Go. *ni-h-*, Konḍa. *ni-R-*, Pe. *ne-c-*, Manḍ. *ne-h-*, Kui. *ne-s-*, Kuvi. *ne-ss-* (3049)) corresponding to *ninṯ-* 'to be filled' has been created in the same group (see Subrahmanyam 1969, § 16). Similarly the *-s-* in Kui. *i-s-* 'to cause to say' (from *in-* 'to say' (737)) must also be analogical.

It is a remarkable fact that while most of the Central Dravidian languages contain the reflexes of both **-pp-* and **-cc-*, Goṇḍi contains the reflex of **-cc-* but not that of **-pp-* and Kolami contains the reflex of **-pp-* but not that of **-cc-*.

(ii) In this conection a peculiar feature of the *-cu* transitive suffix in Old Telugu must be noted. The *c* of *-cu* alternates with *p* before the suffixes of the imperative (affirmative and negative), the negative, the infinitive and also before the causative suffix *-incu*, e.g. *aḍã-cu* 'to press down': past adv. pp. *aḍã-c-i*, past tense 3rd sg. neut. pl. *aḍã-c-e-nu*, imp. 2 sg. *aḍã-p-umu*, proh. 2 sg. *aḍã-p-ak-umu*, inf. *aḍa-p-an*. But for *-incu*, we can say that the variant *p* occurs before suffixes beginning with a non-front vowel. As we have already seen, Telugu contains another transitive suffix *-pu* besides *-cu*. Moreover, in a good number of verbs, these two suffixes freely alternate with each other, e.g. *pā-pu/pā-cu* 'to separate' (: *pāyu* 'to be separated'), *rāl(u)-cu/rāl(u)-pu* 'to cause to fall down' (: *rālu* 'to fall down'), *ḍi-ncu ḍi-mpu* 'to cause to descend' (: *di(g)gu* 'to descend'); *ũ-cu/ũ-pu* 'to cause to swing' (:*ũgu* 'to swing'), etc. This fact might have had some bearing on the *c/p* alternation with which we are at present concerned. Wherever this type of alternation is found, we are sure that *c* is original in those cases for the following reasons:

1. Internal evidence shows that in some verbs *-p* occurs throughout in all the forms whereas in others it is in alternation with *c*, e.g. *kali-p-i* 'having mixed' : *kalu-p-a* 'to mix'; *tīr-c-i* 'having finished' : *tīr-p-a* 'to finish'. From this we

conclude that *p* is original in the first set whereas *c* is original in the second and that it has merged with *p* in certain environments.

2. This alternation is peculiar only to Old Telugu and is completely absent in the colloquial language, e.g. *tīr-c-a-nu* (Old Te. *tīr-p-a-nu*) 'I will not finish,' *mār-c-a-nu* (Old Te. *mār-p-a-nu*) 'I will not change (tr.)', etc.

3. The comparative evidence is also in favour of considering the *-c-* alternant as the original. Old Kannaḍa also contains the *-cu* suffix in a great number of verbs ending in a vowel or a non-stop consonant In these two languages we can find a number of cognates with the same suffix, e.g. Te. *amar(u)-cu* 'to make ready': Ka. *amar-cu;* Te. *tīr-cu* 'to finish' : Ka. *tīr-cu;* Te. *maguḍ(u)-cu* 'to turn (tr.)' : Ka *maguḻ-cu*, etc. The *c/p* alternation, however, is peculiar only to Old Telugu and it is not found in (Old) Kannaḍa. Therefore we conclude that the change of *c* to *p* is an innovation confined only to Old Telugu.

What might be the reason for this change of *c* to *p*? A parallel for this may be seen in the final *-cu* ("*siddha cakāramu*" according to traditional grammarians) of a large number of (intransitive) verb bases.[18] It has an alternant *v* before suffixes beginning with a non-front vowel, e.g. *naḍac-i*,

18. Krishnamurti (1961, § § 2.42-46; 85-87) has proved that this *cu* is originally a past suffix and that it has been incorporated into the base at a later stage. That is why it is replaced by *v* (probably a glide is origin, so Krishnamurti 1961, § 2.86) in the non-past forms before suffixes beginning with a non-front vowel.

imp. 2 sg. *naḍuv-u(mu)*, neg. 3rd m. sg. *naḍav–ā–ḍu* (: *naḍacu* 'to walk'). This kind of *c/v* alternation might have served as a model for the creation of the *c/p* alternation in question. Moreover, it is important to note that before the causative *–incu* both the transitive *-cu* and the other *cu* are replaced by *p.* e.g.

naḍacu 'to walk'	caus *naḍa–p–incu*
tīr-cu 'to finish'	caus. *tīr–p–incu*

The occurrence of *-pu* as a transitive suffix in a large class of verbs in the language may also be partly responsible for the change of *c* to *p* before suffixes beginning with a non-front vowel and before *–incu* in Old Telugu.

(iii) Finally we must note that Caldwell and Ramaswami Aiyar tried to derive this * *-cc-* suffix from original * *-kk-* (in sets with intransitive (N)P : transitive PP).[19] The connection is highly implausible since here there is no phonetic motivation for palatalization of *kk* to *c* in Telugu. Both these scholars are evidently misled by pairs like the following where Te. *cu* seems to correspond to Ta. *–kku.*

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19. Caldwell (1856 : 451) says: "When intransitives are converted into transitives in this manner in Telugu, *gu* or *ngu* becomes, not *kku* as in Tamil, but *chu-* a difference which is in accordance with dialectic rules of sound. Thus from *tū–gu*, or euphonically *tū–ṅgu*, 'to hang, to sleep' comes *tū–chu*, or euphonically *tū–ñchu*, to weigh, to cause to hang (Tam. *tū-kku*).

Ramaswami Aiyar (1928) also says; "....... the nasal+ palatal *cu* being the Telugu development of Tamil *kkə*.'

1. Ta. *aṭ-aṅku*	'to be subdued'	:	*aṭ-akku*	'to subdue'
Te. *aḍ-ãgu*	,,	:	*aḍ-ãcu*	,, (56(a))
2. Ta. *tū-ṅku*	'to hang'		*tū-kku*	'to hang (tr.)'
Te. *tū̃-gu*	'to be weighed'		*tū̃-cu*	'to weigh (tr.)' (2777(a))

1.27. **-vi-* (∞ **-ppi-*)

(i) In Old Tamil *-vi-* (∞ *-ppi-*) was the causative suffix; it is not used in the present-day spoken Tamil. In Old Tamil also it was commonly used only in the post-*Caṅkam* literature; however, a few instances for it does occur in the *Caṅkam* literature and *Tolkāppiyam* also employs it in one *sūtra*. In Malayalam, both Old and Modern, it is used commonly; in later stages, however, the *v* in *vi* has been dropped, e.g.

Ma. (Old) *cey-vi-*, (later) *ceyy-i-* : Ta. *cey-vi* 'to cause to do'
Ma. *eḻut-i-* : Ta. *eḻutu-vi-* 'to cause to write'
Ma. *ōṭ-i-* : Ta. *ōṭu-vi-* 'to cause to run'

In Telugu the causative suffix is *-incu* with variants *-pincu* (after verbs ending in *-cu*) and *-ipincu* (after verbs ending in *ṉ*). As already suggested by Ramaswami Aiyar (1928), it seems to be connected with Ta. Ma. *-vi-* (∞ *-ppi-*) for the following reasons.

1. The classes of Telugu verbs that take *-incu*, *-pincu* and *-ipincu* very closely correspond to the classes of the Tamil–Malayalam verbs that take *-vi-*, *-ppi-*, and *-pi-* respectively. e.g.

Ta. Ma.	Te.	
āṭu-vi-	*āḍ-incu*	'to cause to play'
aṭaṅku-vi-	*aḍāg-incu*	'to cause to be subdued'
mar̲a-ppi-	*mar̲a-pincu*	'to cause to forget'
naṭa-ppi-	*naḍa-pincu*	'to cause to walk'
tin̲-pi-	*tin-ipincu*	'to cause to eat'
kāṇ pi-	*kān-pincu*	'to show'

Therefore we can assume that *-incu* might be originally *-vincu.*

2. Verbs ending in *y* in Telugu generally change the *y* into *s* before a suffix beginning with a front vowel, e.g. *cēyu-i* > *cēs-* 'having done', *cēyu-e-nu* > *cēs-e-nu* 'he/she/it/they (neut.)did'. However, before the causative *-incu* beginning with *i*, it remains as it is, e.g *cēy-incu* (: Ta. Ma. *cey-vi-*) 'to cause to do', *kōy-incu* (: Ta. Ma. *koy-vi)* 'to cause to cut, pluck'. This suggests that originally there was some intervening consonant between *y* and *i* to prevent the operation of the above rule; the comparative evidence from Tamil-Malayalam shows that the intervening consonant might be *v*. Moreover, in these verbs there is a difference between Old and Modern Telugu in the matter of the quantity of the vowel before *y*. It is long in both the dialects before suffixes beginning with a consonant (before which *y* is dropped), e.g. Old *kō̃-ta* / Mod. *kō-ta* 'cutting, reaping' but before suffixes beginning with a vowel it is long in Old Telugu and short in modern Telugu, e.g. Old *cēy-an*/Mod. *ceyy-a* 'to do'. However, before *-incu* both the dialects show the long vowel as though it is beginning with a consonant. This fact also supports the

view that *-incu* must be *-vincu* in pre-Telugu (for a detailed discussion, see P. S. Subrahmanyam, 1970).

3. Both Ta. Ma. *-vi* and Te. *-incu* can be added to bases that already contain a transitive marker to change them into causatives, e.g. Ta. *aṭ-akku-vi-* (Ma. *aṭ-akk-i-*) 'to cause to subdue', *naṭa-ttu-vi-* (Ma. *naṭa-tt-i*) 'to cause (somebody) to cause to walk', *ōṭ-ṭu-vi-* (Ma. *ōṭ-ṭ-i*) 'to cause (somebody) to drive'; Te. *taḍi-p-incu* 'to cause to make wet', *mār-p-incu* 'to cause to change (tr.)'.

This coincidence between Tamil-Malayalam (of South Dravidian) and Telugu (of Central Dravidian) leads us to the conclusion that the causative suffix **-vi-* (∞ **-ppi-*) certainly goes back to the Proto-Dravidian stage. It is to be noted that although the *i* in Te. *-incu* is from **-vi-* the remaining part *-ncu* cannot be the development of the Tamil-Malayalam strong verb formative *kk* as supposed by Ramaswami Aiyar. It will be more plausible to connect it to the transitive suffix **-cc-* and *-incu* will be a combination of two original suffixes *-i-* (< **-vi-*) and *-ncu* (< **-cc-*).

Kannaḍa *-isu* is also connected with Ta. Ma. *-vi-* by Caldwell and Ramaswami Aiyar. This connection is to be doubted because in the historical evolution of Kannaḍa, *-cu* is earlier and *-isu* is its later development in a number of verbs, e.g. (Old) *tīr-cu* / Mod. *tīr-isu* 'to finish', etc. The vowel **i* in them is anaptyctic. Moreover unlike Ta. Ma. *-vi-* and Te. *-incu*, Ka. *-isu* never occurs after any other transitive marker. Therefore it seems to be more proper to connect Kannaḍa *-isu* to PDr. **-cc-* alone.

Moreover, the Adilabad dialect of Goṇḍi contains the suffix *-pūs-* in ten verbs and the Koya dialect contains *-pis-* in twelve verbs. In Konḍa also *-pis-* (~*-bis-*) occurs in a number of verbs. These suffixes correspond to Te. *-pincu*, e.g.

Koya *aḍ-pis-*	:	Te. *ēḍ-pincu*	'to cause to weep'
Koya *tī-pis-*	:	Te. *tin-ipincu*	'to cause to eat'
Konḍa *ta-pis-*	:	Te. *te-ppincu*	'to cause to bring'
Konḍa *sī-bis-*	:	Te. *i-ppincu*	'to cause to give'

Since Kui and Kuvi do not seem to have suffixes related to these, the influence of Telugu, which is the prestige language of the area, may be responsible for the occurrence of these suffixes in Gondi and Konḍa. It is doubtful whether the influence of Telugu is responsible also for the presence of the more productive suffixes, Goṇḍi *-ūs-*, Koya *-is-*, Konḍa *-is-* in these languages.

(ii) It has been observed above that in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu, the reflexes of **-vi-* (∞ **-ppi-*) have the capability of occurring after a transitive base that already contains a transitive marker. It is interesting to note that in Brahui also, the suffix *-if-* can be added to a transitive base with the marker *-if-* (or *-f-*) to convert it into a causative, e.g. *kas-f-if-* 'to cause to kill' (: *kas-f-* 'to kill'). This shows that Br. *-if-* also is derived from **-vi-* (∞ **-ppi-*).

Apart from these, Malto alone has a special causative suffix *-tit-* that can be added to a base with a transitive marker. The process of adding a causative marker to a base with a transitive marker is absent in all other Dravidian languages.

(ii) In the majority of the Dravidian languages it is not necessary to distinguish between a transitive base and a causative base at the morphological level. Even in Tamil-Malayalam and Telugu the causative suffixes are sometimes used as transitive suffixes, e.g. Ta. Ma. *uruku-vi* 'to melt (tr.)', *kāṇ-pi* 'to show', *naṭa-ppi* 'to cause to walk'; Te *velig-incu* 'to light'; *paṇḍ-incu* 'to make to become ripe', *ōḍ-incu* 'to defeat', etc. It is also probable that the causative suffix **-vi-* (∞ **-ppi-*) is ultimately connected to the transitive suffix **-pp-*. Moreover, in Brahui *-if-* is both the transitive marker and the causative marker and it may also be from original **-pp-*. The causative suffixes of Koḍagu and Malto, i.e. *-c-* and *-tit-* respectively are also similarly from the transitive suffixes **-cc-* and **-tt-*. All this suggests that originally there was no distinction between a causative marker and a transitive marker and that some of the languages at a later stage converted an original transitive marker into a causative marker.

Finally the usage of auxiliary verbs annexed usually to the infinitive form of a verb to express causation in several languages may be noted. Such verbs are: Ta. *vai* 'to place, throw', *cey* 'to do', Ka. *māḍu* 'to do', Te. *cēyu* 'to do', *vēyu* 'to throw', *peṭṭu* 'to place', Kui-Kuvi, Pengo *gi-/ki-* 'to do' etc. The causative constructions in Toda and Kota are also periphrastic in origin.

(iv) Caldwell and Ramaswami Aiyar tried also to explain how **-vi-* (∞ *-ppi-*) came to be used as the suffix. Caldwell (1856 : 461) identifies the *v* and *pp* with the future

tense suffix *v* (∞ *pp*) which according to him "was originally a sort of abstract verbal noun which came to be used as a future by the addition of pronominal signs". He derives the remaining *i* from the verb *ī* 'to give' saying that "the meaning of 'give' seems tolerably suitable for a causal particle" (*ibid.* : 462). Ramaswami Aiyar in his 1928 paper traces this to the verb Ta. Ma. *vai*, Te. *vēyu* 'to place' but in his 1938 paper (p. 755) follows Caldwell in identifying the final *i* of *-vi-* (∞ *-ppi-*) with *ī-* 'to give' but regarding the preceding *v*, he puts forward the "tentative" suggestion that *-v-* here may originally have been a glide cropping up between a simple base like *paḍ-u* (with *-u* incorporated) and the genuine original causative-forming affix *i* contracted from the root *ī-* 'to give'. There are no indications in any of the languages to prove that these causative constructions were originally periphrastic. These scholars seem to have given these explanations because of their conviction (and also of most other scholars of their times) that all suffixes in all languages are derived from original independent words. Also note that since it is clear now that SDr. *ī* 'to give' is from PDr. **cī-* (2138) it is difficult for us to believe that the *i* of *-vi-* (∞ *-ppi-*) is derived from this verb.

1.28. Use of different tense markers in Tamil-Kodagu

The Tamil-Koḍagu group of languages share the peculiarity of utilizing different allomorphs of the tense suffixes to express intransitive and transitive in a class of verbs most of which end in *i*, *v* (including *ai*), *r*, and *ḻ*. The allomorphs in intransitives of such bases are: past (**-nt-*; in verbs of the type (C) VC*u*, **ṯ* or **k*), future

(*-v-, *-um) and those in the transitives are past (*-tt-), future (*-pp-, *-kkum). In Tamil and Malayalam this process is found to occur in the present tense also; in these the allomophs are *-kiṉṟ-/*kiṟ- (Ma. -unn-) in the intransitive and *-kkiṉṟ-/*-kkiṟ- (Ma. -kkunn-) in the transitive, In Kota–Toda this process seems to operate only in the past tense formation.[20] Examples :

1.	Ta. *iṭi* (*-v-, -nt-*) 'to fall to pieces'	*iṭi* (*-pp-, -tt-*) 'to break to pieces'
	Ma. *iṭi* (*-um, ññ-*) ,,	*iṭi* (*-kkum, -cc-*) ,,
	To. *īṛy-* (*īṛ-s-*) 'to fall down'	*īṛy-* (*īṛ-c-*) 'to pull down'
	Kod. *īḍi-* (*-v-, -ñj-*) '(wall) falls'	*īḍi-*(*-p-, -c-*) 'to knock over' (366)
2.	Ta. *oṭi* (*-v-, nt-*) 'to break'	*oṭi* (*-pp-, -tt-*) 'to break (tr.)'
	uṭai (*-v-, -nt-*) 'to break (as pot)'	*uṭai* (*-pp-, -tt-*) 'to break into pieces'
	Ma. *oṭi* (*-um, -ññ-*) 'to break'	*oṭi* (*-kkum, -cc-*) 'to break' (tr.)
	uṭay (*-um, -ññ-*) 'to break (as pot)'	*uṭe* (*-kkum, -cc-*) 'to break in pieces'

20. Note that in the languages of this group excepting Old Tamil, the dental past suffixes become palatalized after bases ending in *i* or *y*. The correspondences are:—

Original (also old Tamil)	Mod.Ta.	Ma.	Ko.	To.	Koḍ.
**int/*ynt*	*(i) ñc*	*(i) ññ*	*c*	*s*	*(i) ñj*
**itt/*ytt*	*(i) cc*	*(i) cc*	*c*	*c*	*(i) c*

For details, see chapter II.

	Ko. *oṛv- (oṛ-d-)* 'to break (as pot)'	*oṛ- (oṛ-t-)* 'to break in pieces'
	To. *waṛ- (waṛ-θ-)* „	*waṛf- (waṛ-t-)* „
	wīṛy- (wīṛ-s-) '(joints) crack'	*wīṛy- (wīṛ-c-)* 'to crack (joints)'
	Koḍ. *oḍe (-v-, oḍa-nd-)* 'to be broken'	*oḍa- (-p-, t-)* 'to break (pot)' (799)
3.	Ta. *tāḻ (-v-, -nt-)* 'to be lowered'	*tāḻ (-pp-, -tt-)* 'to lower'
	Ma. *tāḻ (-um, tā-ṇ-)* „	*tāḻ (-kkum, -tt-)* „
	To. *tōy- (tō-s-)* „	*tōy- (tō-c-)* „
	Koḍ. *tār- (tā-v-/tār-uv-, tā-nd-)* ”	(2597)
4.	Ta. *tī(y)(v-, -nt-)* 'to be burnt'	*tī(y)(-pp-, -tt-)* 'to singe'
	Ko. *tīy- (tī-c-)* ”	*tī-c- (tī-c-)* “
	To. *tīy- (tī-s-)* “	*tīy- (tī-c-)* „ (2672)
5.	Ta. *tīr (-v-, -nt-)* 'to end'	*tīr (-pp-, -tt-)* 'to finish'
	Ma. *tīr (-um, -nn-)* ”	*tīr (-kkum, -tt-)* ”
	Kod. *tīr (tīr-uv, tī-nd-)* ”	*tīr (tī-p-, tī-t-)* ” (2683)
6.	Ta. *piri (-v, -nt-)* 'to become parted'	*piri (-pp-, -tt-)* 'to separate (tr.)'
	Ma. *piri (-um, ññ-)* ”	*piri (-kkum, -cc-)* „
	Ko. *piry- (pir-c-)* ”	*pir-c- (pir-c-)* ”
	To. *pīry- (pīr-s-)* „	*pīry- (pīr-c-)* ”
	Kod. *piri (-v-, -ñj-)* „	*piri- (-p-, -c-)* ” (3435)

7.	Ta. *maṟi* (*-v-, -nt-*) 'to be upset'	*maṟi* (*-pp-, -tt-*) 'to upset'
	Ma. *maṟi* (*-um,-ññ-*) "	*maṟi* (*-kkum, -cc-*) "
	Ko. *mayr-* (*mar-c-*) '(tree) falls'	*mayr-* (*mar-c-*) 'to pull up by the roots'
	To. *maṟy-* (*maṟ-s-*) 'to fall'	*maṟy-* (*maṟ-c-*) 'to fell (tree)'
	Kod. *mari* (*-v-, -ñj-*) 'to roll'	*mari-* (*-p-, -c-*) 'to roll (tr.)' (3898)
8.	Ta. *mēy* (*-v-, -nt-*) 'to graze'	*mēy* (*-pp-, -tt-*) 'to make to graze'
	Ma. *mēy* (*-um, mē-ññ-*) "	*mēy* (*-kkum, mē-cc-*) "
	Ko. *mēy* (*mē-c-*) "	*mēy-* (*mē-c-*) "
	To. *mīy* (*mī-s-*) "	*mī-c-* (*mī-č-*) "
	Koḍ. *mēy-*(*mē-v-/ mēy-uv-, mē-ñj-*)"	*mēy-* (*mē-p-, mē-c-*) (4179)

No other Dravidian language including the two remaining languages of South Dravidian, i.e. Kannaḍa and Tulu has evidence for this type of expressing the transitive meaning. Therefore this can be considered as a shared innovation in the languages of the Tamil-Kodagu group. The innovation must have taken place at the proto-stage of these languages. Originally this process might have started in the past and the future (or non-past) tenses and in Tamil-Malayalam this has been extended to the present tense also after its creation by the end of the *Caṅkam* period. At present it is not clear whether Kota-Toda lost this process in the future tense or originally it started only in the past

tense and then was extended to the future tense in Tamil-Malayalam and Koḍagu.

It is clear that this process is the result of extension of the principle of "doubling" of the final stop (whether or not preceded by the homorganic nasal) of the derivative suffixes, which is quite common in this group to the tense suffixes. The phonemic similarity of the past suffix *-tt-* to the causative suffix *-tt-* and that of the future suffix *-pp-* to the causative suffix *-pp-* might have fecilitated the employment of these tense suffixes for indicating transition or causation also. It has already been observed that descriptively a covert allomorph of the transitive morpheme may be posited in such verbs and that it can be considered to be the conditioning factor for the selection of the proper tense markers.[21]

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21. Emeneau (1967 : 392-94) mainly on the basis of the material supplied to him by Mr. Gerard Diffloth, notes that Badaga (which is considered to be a dialectal offshoot of Kannaḍa) also has a considerable number of bases that show intrasitive–transitive distinction by the usage of different tense suffixes. Examples (the first form is 3rd sg. past intransitive and the second 1st sg. past transitive):

kayiduttu, *kayitte*, '(time) to pass; to spend (time)'(1142)
hiriduttu, *hiritte* 'to be dismantled; to dismantle' (3435)
muruduttu, *murutte* 'to be broken; to break' (4109)
nīduttu, *nītte* 'to be woven; to weave (3103)

After a detailed comparison of such instances with the related forms in the other languages, Emeneau observes : "This wide-spreading disagreement in detail with the other languages must mean that the Badaga system is an independent formation in its details. The simplest hypothesis, since inheritance from pre-Kannaḍa seems to be ruled out (and inheritance from any period within the Kannaḍa record is

1.29. Conclusion

1. There are three types of transitive-causative formation in Dravidian. The most common type consists of the overt allomorphs of the transitive-causative morpheme to the intransitive base. In the second type the allomorph **-tt-* (or preferably, a covert allomorph) is added to bases ending in P or NP and morphophonemically (N)P+ **-tt-* (or -X-) changes to PP. This type is very common in the subgroups, Tamil-Koḍagu and Konḍa-Kuvi; Old Kannaḍa has a few instances for it and Parji contains indirect evidence to show that it was prevelent in its earlier stages. This type along with the first one can be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. It is replaced by the first type in the languages other than those mentioned above. The third type involves the usage of different allomorphs of the tense suffixes to express the intransitive-transitive distinction. It is a shared innovation in the Tamil-Kodagu group of languages and seems to be created on the pattern—intransitive (N)P : transitive PP occurring in the derivative suffixes (second type).

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impossible), is that on the basis of a Kannaḍa-like intransitive/transitive system, which did not have the *-d-/-t-* contrast, and under the stimulus of neighbouring languages, i.e. Toda and Kota (insofar as the latter had not lost this contrast), Badaga went its own way in building up the *-d-/-t-* contrast (note that *-d-* is derived from Kannada *-d-*, which results from **-nd-*). It led to numerous concidences with the details of the system of the SDr. languages (minus Kannaḍa), but it also led to divergences and even to such anomalies as *nīd-* 'to be woven' : *nītt-* to weave' (3103), when no other language had anything but **ney-* (*ney-d-*) with transitive meaning."

2. The intransitive derivate suffix *-mp-* corresponding to the transitve *-pp-* in Tamil-Kodagu and Koṇḍa-Kuvi owes its origin to analogy to other bases with intransitive NP and transitive PP.

3. Causative markers that are distinct from transitive markers occur only in the following languages: Old Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Malto and Brahui. They bear close similarity to the transitive markers and therefore it is probable that originally there was no distinction between a transitive and a causative at the morphological level.

PAST SUFFIXES

2.0. Introduction

The past tense formation is one of the oldest morphological constructions in Dravidian. Many of the daughter languages, particularly those of the South Dravidian group, have a number of suffixes for the past. The South Dravidian languages seem to have retained the Proto-Dravidian situation more faithfully and many other languages seem to have simplified the original complexity to a considerable extent.

DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

2.1. Tamil

(i) FINITE FORMS : Old Tamil verbs may be divided into four main classes on the basis of the allomorphs of the past tense morpheme that are used in the formation of the past stem.[1] The allomorphs are 1. *-t-*, 2. *-nt-*, 3. *-tt-*,

1. Tamil verbs are divided into seven conjugations in A. H. Arden's book (5 ed. revised, 1954) and into thirteen conjugations in the *Tamil Lexicon*; the classification of Dr. Graul seems to be the basis for both. They are reduced here into four by the setting up of a few morphophonemic rules to account for some alterations. It should be noted

4. *-i-* (∞ *-in̲-*/*-iy-*); the *y* in *-iy-* is a glide in origin. When the first three of these are added to verb bases of the type (C)VC*u* or those ending in a nasal or a lateral the following morphophonemic changes take place :

1. $t \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{r} \\ \underset{.}{t} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \underline{n} \\ \underset{.}{n} \end{bmatrix} —$

2. $(C)V \begin{bmatrix} ku \\ \underset{.}{t}u \\ \underline{r}u \end{bmatrix} + t \rightarrow (C)V \begin{bmatrix} kk \\ \underset{.}{t}\underset{.}{t} \\ \underline{r}\underline{r} \end{bmatrix}$

3. $\begin{bmatrix} l \\ \underset{.}{l} \end{bmatrix} + nt \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{n}\underline{r} \\ \underset{.}{n}\underset{.}{t} \end{bmatrix}$

4. $\begin{bmatrix} l \\ \underset{.}{l} \end{bmatrix} + tt \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{r}\underline{r} \\ \underset{.}{t}\underset{.}{t} \end{bmatrix}$

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here that L. Lisker (1951) has suggested the possibility of writing the verbs that take the allomorph *–tt–* with an additional final X and of considering *–t–* as the allomorph in these verbs too; the X morphophonemically assumes the shape of the following consonant; becomes *kk* before a vowel (except before the imperative 2nd pl. *–um*) or becomes ∅ before pause. This method is not adopted here since it creates some difficulties in the comparative study although it brings economy in a purely descriptive grammar. Emeneau in his 1967 paper represents *t, nt,* and *tt* as *d, nd* and *t* respectively since this method "yields simpler morphophonemics in the present solution of the morphology, ... it yields easier comparative statements ...... (*ibid* : 372). However in the present work the usual transcription is followed for the sake of consistency. N. Kumaraswamy Raja's classification of Tamil verbs (1960) into six conjugations is especially useful for teaching purposes.

The allomorphs *-t-*, *-nt-* and *-tt-* are morphologically conditioned; for *-i-*, however, it is possible to give the conditioning in terms of the final phonemes of the bases with which it occurs with certain exceptions. It mainly occurs after bases (other than those of the type (C)VC*u*) that end in a single stop (whether or not preceded by a homorganic nasal) or a double stop (followed by the enunciative vowel *u*) (in this statement, the word 'stop' includes the palatal affricate *c* and the alveolar trill *ṟ* and the labial fricative *v*). It also occurs after a few bases ending in non-stop consonants like *taḷḷ* 'to push' *kiḷḷu* 'to pinch' *kōru* 'to decide, request', *eṇṇu* 'to count', etc (see for details, M. Andronov 1969:136-42).

		Base		Past Stem
				-t-
1.	(a)	*cey*	'to do'	*cey-t-*
		pey	'to rain'	*pey-t-*
		koy	'to reap'	*koy-t-*
		aḻu	'to weep'	*aḻu-t-*
		uḻu	'to plough'	*uḻu-t-*
		toḻu	'to worship'	*toḻu-t-*
		poru	'to fight'	*poru-t-*
	(b)	*puku*	'to enter'	*puk-k-/puku-nt-*
		naku	'to laugh'	*nak-k-*
		taku	'to be fit'	*tak-k-/taku-nt-*
		viṭu	'to leave'	*viṭ-ṭ-*
		cuṭu	'to burn'	*cuṭ-ṭ-*
		iṭu	'to put'	*iṭ-ṭ-*
		keṭu	'to be spoiled'	*keṭ-ṭ-*
		aṟu	'to cut'	*aṟ-ṟ-*
		peṟu	'to obtain'	*peṟ-ṟ-*

(c)	*tiṉ* 'to eat'	*tiṉ-ṟ-*
	eṉ 'to say'	*eṉ-ṟ-*
	īn 'to give birth to'	*īṉ-ṟ-*
	uṇ 'to eat or drink'	*uṇ-ṭ-*
	kāṇ 'to see'	*kaṇ-ṭ-*
	pūṇ 'to put on, yoke'	*pūṇ-ṭ-*

-nt-

2. (a)	*naṭa* 'to walk'	*naṭa-nt-*
	kaṟa 'to milk'	*kaṟa-nt-*
	maṟa 'to forget'	*maṟa-nt-*
	aṇṇā 'to look upward'	*aṇṇā-nt-*
	aṟi 'to know'	*aṟi-nt-*
	eri 'to burn'	*eri-nt-*
	piri 'to be separated'	*piri-nt-*
	ī 'to give'	*ī-nt-/ī-tt-*
	aṭai 'to get'	*aṭai-nt-*
	uṭai 'to be broken'	*uṭai-nt-*
	mēy 'to graze'	*mēy-nt-*
	vīḻ/viḻu 'to fall'	*vīḻ-nt-/viḻu-nt-*
	vāḻ 'to live'	*vāḻ-nt-*
	uṇar 'to perceive'	*uṇar-nt*
	vaḷar 'to grow'	*vaḷar-nt-*
	cēr 'to be joined'	*cēr-nt-*
	iru 'to be'	*iru-nt-*
	varu/vā 'to come'	*va-nt-*
	taru/tā 'to give to 1 or 2 person'	*ta-nt-*
	vē 'to be hot'	*ve-nt-*
	nō 'to ache'	*no-nt-*

	(b)	*kol*	'to kill'	*ko–ṉr–*
		nil	'to stand'	*ni–ṉṟ–*
		cel	'to go'	*ce–ṉṟ–*
		vel	'to win'	*ve–ṉṟ–*
		pōl	'to resemble'	*pō–ṉṟ–*
		koḷ	'to take'	*ko–ṇṭ–*
		āḷ	'to rule'	*ā-ṇṭ–*
		māḷ	'to die'	*mā-ṇṭ–*
		mūḷ	'to catch fire'	*mū–ṇṭ–*
			–tt–	
3.	(a)	*aṭi*	'to strike'	*aṭi–tt–*
		kuṭi	'to drink'	*kuṭi–tt–*
		kā	'to wait'	*kā-tt–*
		pū	'to flower'	*pū–tt–*
		vai	'to put'	*vai–tt–*
		tai	'to sew'	*tai–tt–*
		uṭai	'to break (tr.)'	*uṭai–tt–*
		mēy	'feed cattle'	*mēy-tt–*
		pār	'to see'	*pār–tt–*
		ciri	'to laugh'	*ciri–tt–*
		kuḷi	'to bathe'	*kuḷi–tt–*
		koṭu	'to give'	*koṭu–tt–*
		eṭu	'to take'	*eṭu-tt–*
		vaṟu	'to parch'	*vaṟu–tt–*
		paḻu	'to ripen'	*paḻu–tt–*
		aviḻ	'to unloose'	*aviḻ–tt–*
		pāḻ	'to go to ruin'	*pāḻ–tt–*
		cā	'to die'	*ce–tt–*
	(b)	*kal*	'to learn'	*ka–ṟṟ–*
		vil	'to sell'	*vi–ṟṟ–*

	tōl 'to be defeated'	*tō-r̲r̲-*
	kaḷ 'to steal'	*ka-ṭṭ-*
	kēḷ 'to ask or hear'	*kē-ṭṭ-*

-i (∞ -in̲-)

4.	*vāṅku* 'to get, buy'	*vāṅk-i*
	aṭaṅku 'to submit'	*aṭaṅk-i*
	aṭakku 'to control'	*aṭakk-i*
	tūṅku 'to sleep'	*tūṅk-i*
	tūkku 'to lift'	*tūkk-i*
	uruku 'to melt'	*uruk-i*
	pēcu 'to speak'	*pēc-i*
	āṭu 'to play'	*āṭ-i*
	āṭṭu 'to shake'	*āṭṭ-i*
	pāṭu 'to sing'	*pāṭ-i*
	kāṭṭu 'to show'	*kāṭṭ-i*
	tiruṭu 'to steal'	*tiruṭ-i*
	eṇṇu 'to count'	*eṇṇ-i*
	paṇṇu 'to do, make'	*paṇṇ-i*
	nīntu 'to swim'	*nīnt-i*
	el̲utu 'to write'	*el̲ut-i*
	nir̲uttu 'to stop'	*nir̲utt-i*
	nampu 'to believe'	*namp-i*
	kōru 'to desire'	*kōr-i*
	kal̲uvu 'to wash'	*kal̲uv-i*
	taṭavu 'to stroke'	*taṭav-i*
	aruḷu 'to be gracious'	*aruḷ-i*
	taḷḷu 'to push'	*taḷḷ-i*
	mār̲u 'to be changed'	*mār̲-i*
	mār̲r̲u 'to change (tr.)'	*mār̲r̲-i*

ā/āku	'to be, become'	*āk-i/ā-ṉ-/ā-y*
pō/pōku	'to go'	*pāk-i/pō-ṉ-*
col	'to say, tell'	*coll-i/coṉ-ṉ-*

The variant -*i* occurs in the adverbial participle; -*iy*- before the adjective marker -*a* in the adjective participle in *Caṅkam* Tamil and -*iṉ*- occurs before personal suffixes in finite verbs and also before -*a* in the adjective in post-*Caṅkam* Tamil (see Ramaswami Aiyar 1938:760). Also note that in *ā-ṉ-*, *pō-ṉ-* and *coṉ-ṉ-*, the *ṉ* is a variant of -*iṉ*- (cf. the Old Tamil variants of these, *āk-iṉ-*, *pōk-iṉ-* and *coll-iṉ-* respectively of which the former are contractions).

In Old Tamil there are alternant finite forms with and without the *cāriyai* -*aṉ*- occurring between the suffix -*t*-, -*nt*- or -*tt*- (but not -*iṉ*-) and the personal suffix; the personal suffixes beginning with a long vowel have variants with the corresponding short vowel after the *cāriyai* -*aṉ*- (the personal ending -*atu* has a variant -*ṟu* after -*aṉ*-). In modern (written) Tamil -*aṉ*- occurs obligatorily before the 3rd neut. pl. suffix -*a*; in other persons forms without -*aṉ*- are used more commonly.

In spoken Tamil the suffixes -*nt*- and -*tt*- respectively become palatalised into -*ñc*- and -*cc*- when they occur after base final *i*, *y*, or *e* (<*ai*); see S. Agesthialingom 1967 : 216. Although the forms with these palatalised variants have not gained entry into the standard literary language, this change should have occurred in the spoken language well before the 7th century since the forms *añcu* 'five' (4-18-5) from older *ayntu* and *uñcu* 'having escaped' (5-31-5) from older **uy-ntu*

due to the change of *ynt* into *ñc* occurs in *Appar Tēvāram* of that period (see S. V. Shanmugam, 1970, § 4-3-4), Moreover, in many of the present-day Tamil dialects, the suffix *-t-* is analogically replaced by *-ñc-* after verbs ending in *y* (*y* before *-nc-* is lost), e.g. Old *cey-t-* / Colloq. *ce-ñc-* (: *cey* 'to do') Old *pey-t-* / Colloq. *pe-ñc-* (: *pey* 'to rain'). Also note that in colloquial Tamil there is no separate form for the 3rd neut. pl. and the form with the personal suffix *-atu* (originally singular) is used both in the singular and the plural without distinction.

varu/vār/vā 'to come'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*va-nt-aṉ-eṉ* *va-nt-ēṉ*		*va-nt-aṉ-em* *va-nt-ēm/va-nt-ōm*
2.	*va-nt-aṉ-ai* *va-nt-āy*		*va-nt-aṉ-ir* *va-nt-īr(kaḷ)*
3.m	*va-nt-aṉ-aṉ* *va-nt-āṉ*	hum.	*va-nt-aṉ-ar* *va-nt-ār(kaḷ)*
f.	*va-nt-aṉ-aḷ* *va-nt-āḷ*		
n.	*va-nt-aṉ-ṟu* *va-nt-atu*		*va-nt-aṉ-a*

(ii) PAST ADVERB : Usually the past stem itself (with the addition of the enunciative *u* if it ends in a consonant) functions as the past adverb.

uḻu-tu 'having ploughed'
cey-tu 'having done'
tiṉ-ṟu 'having eaten'

uṇ–ṭu 'having eaten or drunk'

naṭa-ntu 'having walked'

ni–ṉṟu 'having stood' (: *nil*)

ko–ṉṟu 'having killed' (: *kol*)

pār–ttu 'having seen'

ka–ṟṟu 'having learnt' (: *kal*)

kē–ṭṭu 'having asked or heard' (: *kēḷ*)

aṭakk-i 'having controlled'

pāṭ-i 'having sung'

tirump–i 'having turned'

kūṟ–i 'having told'

Old Tamil contains besides these regular ones, forms with one of the following suffixes: 1. *āa*, 2. *–ūu*, 3. *-pu* and *-ii* (Ramaswami Aiyar 1938: 759-60).

1. *toḻ-āa* (PN, 260) (= *toḻu-tu*) 'having worshipped'
   niṉai-ā (PN, 260) (= *niṉai-ntu*) 'having thought'
   puk-āa (PN, 375) (= *puk-ku*) 'having entered'

2. *kāṇ-ūu* (PN, 377) (= *kaṇ-ṭu*) 'having seen'
   iṭ-ūu (PN, 158) (= *iṭ-ṭu*) 'having placed'

3. *aṟu-pu* (PN, 67) (= *aṟ–ṟu*) 'having cut'
   iṭu-pu (PN, 33) (= *iṭ–ṭu*) 'having placed'
   taru-pu (376) (= *ta-ntu*) 'having given'
   aruntu–pu (KurT, 201) (= *arunt–i*) having eaten'

4. *tar–ii* (Kur T, 28) (= *ta–ntu*) 'having given'
   niṉai-i (PN, 164) (= *niṉai–ntu*) 'having thought'

For other examples with *-ii*, see § 1.1; it has also been noted there that some of the forms with this suffix have an additional transitive or causative meaning. This suffix, unlike the other three, occurs also in the past adjective participle (for instances, see below) and also rarely in finite verbs in *Caṅkam* Tamil, e.g.

aṟ-īiy-iṉ-ēṉ (KLT 140) 'I knew'
taḻ-īi-ṉ-āṉ 'he embraced'
viḻ-īi-ṉ-āṉ 'he fell'
kaḻ-īi-ṉ āṉ 'he washed'

(iii) PAST ADJECTIVE: The past adjective is usually formed by adding to the past stem the adjective marker *-a*.

va-nt-a 'that came'
iṭ-ṭ-a 'that placed'
uṇ-ṭ-a 'that ate/eaten'
nōkk-iy-a / *nōkk-iṉ-a* 'that saw/seen'
akaṟṟ-iy-a 'that widened'
eḻut-iy-a / *eḻut-iṉ-a* 'that wrote/written'
arunt-iy-a / *arunt-iṉ-a* 'that ate/eaten'

In *Caṅkam* Tamil past adjectives with the past suffix *-īi-* (followed by the *y* glide before *-a*) are also common:

or-īiy-a (PN, 127) 'that disengaged'
ir-īiy-a (PN, 18) 'that placed'
taḻ-īiy-a (PN, 23) 'that embraced'

(iv) CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE : In *Cańkam* Tamil the suffix *-i<u>n</u>* (with a variant *-ppi<u>n</u>* or rarely *-kki<u>n</u>* after strong verbs) is added to the base to form the conditional.

kāṇ-i<u>n</u> 'if (subject) sees'
cēr-i<u>n</u> 'if (subject) joins'
e<u>n</u>-i<u>n</u> 'if (subject) says'
iru-ppi<u>n</u> 'if (subject) stays'
kēṭ-pi<u>n</u> 'if (subject) hears or asks'
ni<u>n</u>ai-ppi<u>n</u> 'if (subject) thinks'
kiṭa-kki<u>n</u> (PN, 332) 'if (subject) remains'
nī-ppi<u>n</u> }
nī-kki<u>n</u> } 'if (subject) removes'

In *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭi* *-il* occurs rarely instead *-i<u>n</u>*, e.g. *uṇ-il* (TK, 922) 'if (somebody) eats'

In post-*Cańkam* Tamil, including the present-day Tamil, the conditional is formed by adding the suffix *-āl* to the past stem of a verb. Such forms also appear rarely in *Kalittokai* of the *Cańkam* literature. *-āl* sometimes has a variant *-ēl* in some texts. As pointed out by the commentator *Naccinārk-ki<u>n</u>iyar*, *-āl* and *-ēl* may be contractions of *āk-il*, conditional with *-il* of *ā/āku* 'to become'.

kaṇ-ṭ-āl 'if (subject) sees'
e<u>n</u>-ṟ-āl 'if (subject) says'
cey-t-āl 'if (subject) does'
uṇ-ṭ-ēl 'if (subject) eats'

The concessives are formed by adding the copula *-um* to the conditionals in both Old and modern Tamil dialects.

tō<u>n</u>ṟ-i<u>n</u>-um }
tō<u>n</u>ṟ-i<u>n</u>-āl-um } 'even though (subject) appears'

ceyy-iṉ-um } 'even though (subject)
cey-t-āl-um } does'

piṟa-pp-iṉ-um } 'even though (subject)
piṟa-nt-āl-um } is born'

2.2. Malayalam

(i) FINITE FORMS : The formation of the past stem in Malayalam is closely similar to that in Tamil. The following morphophonemic change, however, is peculiar to Malayalam.

$$1. \quad \begin{bmatrix} {}^{*}nt \\ {}^{*}tt \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{Ma.} \begin{bmatrix} \tilde{n}\tilde{n} \\ cc \end{bmatrix} / \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ y \end{matrix} \right\} —$$

It has already been noted that in spoken Tamil also the same type of change (i.e. palatalization of dentals) takes place (Ma. *ññ* < **nc*).

aṟi	'to know'	*aṟi-ññ-* (< *aṟi-nt-*)
mēy	'to graze'	*mē-ññ-* (< *mēy-nt-*)
aray	'to grind'	*ara-cc-* (< *aray-tt-*)

$$2. \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} {}^{*}nt \\ {}^{*}\underline{n}\underline{r} \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \text{Ma. } nn$$

naṭa	'to walk'	*naṭa-nn-* (< **naṭa-nt-*)
varu	'to come'	*va-nn-* (< **va-nt-*)
kol	'to kill'	*ko-nn-* (< **ko-ṉṟ-*)
nil	'to stand'	*ni-nn-* (< **ni-ṉṟ-*)

In inscriptions *nt* and *ṉṟ* are retained upto the 11th and the 12th centuries respectively, see A.C. Sekhar 1953: 25-27. Therefore this might have started sometime at this period.

3. *ḻnt→ Old Ma. ṇṇ/Mod. Ma. ṇ

tāḻ 'to be lowered' *tā-ṇṇ/tā-ṇ-* (<*tāḻ-nt-)
vīḻ 'to fall' *vī-ṇṇ-/vī-ṇ-* (<*vīḻ--nt-)

(ii) PAST ADVERB: The past stem itself functions as the past adverb with the addition of the enunciative vowel *u* when it ends in a consonant. In some dialects of spoken Malayalam, the enunciative vowel is *u* (phonetically unrounded ɨ) in the finite form and ə in the adverb.

va-nnu 'having come'
cey-tu 'having done'
kaṇ-ṭu 'having seen'

(iii) PAST ADJECTIVE: This is formed by adding the adjective marker *-a* to the past stem. In verbs with the past tense suffix *-i* the glide *y* occurs between *i* and *a* as in *Caṅkam* Tamil. However, in some Old Malayalam texts and earlier inscriptions forms with the past suffix *-iṉ-* as in Middle Tamil appear side by side with those having the past suffix *-i (y)-*, e. g. *muṭṭ-iṉ-a/muṭṭ-iy-a*(11th century inscription) 'that hindered'

cey-t-a 'that did/done'
oḻi-ññ-a 'that avoided'
eḻut-iy-a 'that wrote/written'
ēṟ-iy-a 'that climbed'

In older texts, the *cāriyai -an-* often occurs between the past suffix (other than *-i(n)-*) and the adjective marker *-a*.

civa-nt-an-a (RC, 147) 'that became red (eyes)'
pey-t-an-a (RC, 12) 'that trickled (tears)'

iṭ-ṭ-an-a (RC, 68) 'that placed (curse)'

koṇ-ṭ-an-a (RC, 12) 'that given' (TAS, III p.81)

(iv) CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE : In Old Malayalam the conditional suffix added to the verb base is *-il;* and the formative *kk* occurs before it in the strong verbs and in the weak verbs *-il* freely varies with *-kil.*

muṭṭ-il } 'if (subject) is hindered'
muṭṭu-kil }

var-il } 'if (subject) comes'
varu-kil }

piḻai-kk-il 'if (subject) fails'

irukk-il 'if (subject) stays'

This type does not exist in present-day Malayalam except in *eṅ-kil* 'if (subject) says' used in the conditional sense after finite verbs. From the earliest period Malayalam has another type of conditional that is formed by adding the suffix *-āl* to the past stem of a verb; this type alone is used in the present-day language.

cey-t-āl 'if (subject) does'

va-nn-āl 'if (subject) comes'

cāḍ-iy-āl 'if (subject) jumps'

The concessives are formed by adding the copula *-um* to the conditional forms.

var-il-um } 'even though (subject) comes'
varu-kil-um }

cey-t-āl-um 'even though (subject) does'

2.3. Kota

(i) FINITE FORMS: In both Kota and Ṭoda the past tense and the present-future tense (as well as some other formations) are formed on a special stem that may be called the "secondary stem" (S² of Emeneau). This secondary stem historically corresponds to the past stem of Tamil–Malayalam and some other languages. The secondary stem is formed by adding to the verb base one of the following suffixes, 1. *-d-*, 2. *-t-* and 3. *-y-*. When these are added to the verb bases, the following changes take place (Emeneau 1967:378).

1. *ṛd + d → yd*
2. *n/ṇ + d → n̲d/ṇḍ*
3. *r*^{1}*/r*^{2}*/l/n/l̲/ṇ + d → d/d̲/d̲/d̲/ḍ/ḍ*
4. *l + d → d*
5. *y + t → c*
6. *g/y + t → ṛt/ṛt*
7. *ṛt + t → yt*
8. *d/r*^{1}*/r*^{2}*/l/ḷ/ṛ/ḍ + t → t/t/t̲/t̲/ṭ/ṭ/ṭ*
9. *l + t → t*
10. *c/j + y → c/j*
11. *t̲/ṭ/ṛ/ḍ/ + y → c/c/c/j*

-d-

I.	*nanv-*	'to become wet'	*nan-d-*
	karv-	'to milk'	*kar-d-*
	marv-	'to forget'	*mar-d-*
	perv-	'to be born'	*per-d-*
	eṛv-	'to fly'	*eṛ-d-*
	kaḷv-	'to steal'	*kaḷ-d-*

	aṛd-	'to tell'	*ay-d-*
	nin-/nil	'to stand'	*nin-d̲*
	īn-	'(animal) bears	*īn-d̲*
	mīṇ-	'to escape'	*mīṇ-ḍ*
	cēr-	'to join'	*cē-d-*
	vār-	'to come'	*va-d-*
	gel-	'to win'	*ge-d̲-*
	tin-	'to eat'	*ti-d̲-*
	kāṇ-/kaṇ-	'to see'	*ka-ḍ-*
	uṇ-	'to drink'	*u-ḍ-*
	verṇ-	'to be afraid'	*ver-ḍ-*
	curṇ-	'to lie in coils'	*cur-ḍ-*
	cel-	'(coin) is genuine'	*ca-d-*

-t-

2.	*tav-*	'to die'	*ta-t-*
	kāv-	'to watch'	*kā-t-*
	kerv-	'to bark'	*ker-t-*
	taṛv-	'to obstruct'	*taṛ-t-*
	oṛv-	'to break (tr.)'	*oṛ-t-*
	vay-	'to place'	*va-c-*
	gey-	'to make, do'	*ge-c-*
	koy-	'to cut'	*ko-c-*
	piry-	'to separate (intr., tr.)'	*pir-c-*
	muṛy-	'to be possible'	*muṛ-c-*
	tēy-	'to be rubbed, rub'	*tē-c-*
	ag-	'to weep'	*aṛ-t-*
	vag-	'(woman) is married to'	*vaṛ-t-*

vig-	'to fall'	*viṛ-t-*
ug-	'to plough'	*uṛ-t-*
kaṛt-	'to make to cross, wash'	*kay-t-*
ār-	'to call'	*ā-t-*
ir-/ig-	'to be'	*i-t-*
ter-	'to pay (debt)'	*te-ṯ-*
por-	'to bear up'	*po-ṯ-*
kur-	'to pound'	*ku-ṯ-*
kal-	'to learn'	*ka-ṯ-*
kēḷ-	'to hear'	*kē-ṭ-*
aṛ-	'to cook'	*a-ṭ-*
naṛ-	'to fix upright in ground'	*na-ṭ-*
keṛ-	'to be lost, die'	*ke-ṭ-*
iḍ-	'to put'	*i-ṭ-*
viṛ-	'to release, leave'	*vi-ṭ-*
koṛ-	'to give to 3rd person'	*ko-ṭ-*

-y-

3.	*namb-*	'to believe'	*namb-y-*
	vat-	'to dry up'	*vat-y-*
	māt-	'to change'	*māt-y-*
	kut-	'to pierce'	*kut-y-*
	naṛt-	'to teach to walk'	*naṛt-y-*
	ōd-	'to read'	*ōd-y-*
	aṛd-	'to tell'	*aṛd-y-*
	eḷd-	'to write'	*eḷd-y-*
	dāṭ-	'to cross'	*dāṭ-y-*

nīṭ-	'to lengthen'	*nīṭ-y-*
curṭ-	'to coil, roll'	*curṭ-y-*
noṇḍ-	'to limp'	*noṇḍ-y-*
amk-	'to press'	*amk-y-*
tūg-	'to hang (intr.)'	*tūyg-* (<**tūg-y-*)
toṅg	'to hang (intr.)'	*toṅg-y-*
mār-	'to sell'	*mār-y-*
nār-	'to small bad'	*nār-y-*
kāc-	'to boil'	*kāc-* (<**kāc-y-*)
nec-	'to weave'	*nec-* (<**nec-y-*)
nenc-	'to think'	*nenc-* (<**nenc-y-*)
kalc-	'to teach'	*kalc-* (<**kalc-y-*)
anj-	'to fear'	*anj-* (<**anj-y-*)
kornj-	'to become reduced'	*kornj-* (<**kornj-y-*)
ēṯ-	'to place (burden) on'	*ē-c-*
kāṭ-	'to show'	*kā-c-*
kaṭ-	'to tie, build'	*ka-c-*
tīṭ-	'to feed by hand'	*tī-c-*
āṟ-	'to dance'	*ā-c-*
ōṟ-	'to run'	*ō-c-*
kūṟ-	'to join (intr.)'	*kū-c-*
tōḍ-	'to dig a deep hole'	*tō-j-*

Irregular

iṟ-	'to have sexual intercourse with'	*iṭ-y-*
maṇ-	'to shave'	*may-ṇḍ-*
vey-	'to be burned'	*vedy-* (<**vey-d-*)
āg-	'to become'	*ā-y-/ā-n-/ā-c-*
ōg-	'to go'	*ō-y-/ō-n-/ō-c-*

In the finite verb the past tense suffix (added to the secondary stem) is *-v-* with a variant *-uk-* before the third person suffix *-ō*, in the two verbs *āg-* (*āy-*) 'to beeome', *ōg-* (*ōy-*) 'to go' the suffix is *-k-* before *-ō* and *-p-* elsewhere (Emeneau, *Kota Texts*, vol. I, p. 28). In the dialect of Aggāl Kōtagiri the *-p-* alone occurs in all verbs (the following paradigm supplied by G. Subbiah is from this dialect).

vā- (*va-d-*) 'to come'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*va-d-p-ē(n)*	(excl.) *va-d-p-ēm*
		(incl.) *va-d-p-ōm*
2.	*va-d-p-ī*	*va-d-p-īm*
3.	(*sg., pl.*) *va-d-k-ō*	

(ii) Another Kota paradigm which is designated by Emeneau as "irrealis" has to be noted here. "It consists in the apodosis of the past stem plus *-c-* plus personal endings, and there is in the protasis a non-finite from without distinction of person with *-ōtk* in place of a personal ending." (Emeneau 1957 : 45), e.g,

vār-, va-d- 'to come'

Non-finite : *va-d-c-ōtk*

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*va-d-c-ē*	(excl,)	*va-d-c-ēm*
		(incl.)	*va-d-c-ōm*
2.	*va-d-c-ī*		*va-d-c-īm/r*
3m.	*va-d-c-ān(ē)*		hum. *va-d-c-ār(ē)*
f.	*va-d-c-āḷ(ē)*		
n.	(sg. pl.) *va-d-c-d-* (*ē*)		

It is possible to interpret this paradigm as a specialized development of an original past tense paradigm with semantic divergence.

(iii) PAST ADVERB: This is formed by adding the suffix *-ṯ-* to the secondary stem of verbs.

va-d-ṯ- 'having come'
aḷ-d-ṯ 'having measured'
o-y-ṯ 'having gone'
por-t por-t-ṯ 'having endured and endured'
i-ḏ-ṯ 'having said'
va-kc-ṯ 'having caused to come'
tin-kc-ṯ 'having fed'
keṛ-c-ṯ 'having put out (lamp)'

(iv) PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding *-vd* freely varying with *-bd* to the secondary stem of a verb.

ti-ḏ-vd / *ti-ḏ-bd* 'that ate/eaten'
ge-c-vd / *ge-c-bd* 'that did/done'
nō-c-vd / *nō-c-bd* 'that saw/seen'

(v) CONDITIONAL: The construction with the secondary stem followed by *mēl* 'after, upon' gives the conditional meaning.

va-d mēl 'if (subject) comes'
nō-c mēl 'if (subject) sees'

2.4. Toda

(i) FINITE FORMS: In Toda also as in Kota, verbs have a secondary stem which forms the basis for the past

tense and of the present-future tense (as well as of some other formations). The secondary stem which corresponds to the past stem of the other South Dravidian languages is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base: 1. -θ-, 2. *-t-* 3. *-d-* and 4. *-y-*, when these are added to a base, the following changes take place (Emeneau 1967 : 376):

1. *y* + θ → *s*
2. *r* + θ → θ
3. *y* + *t* → *c*
4. *y* + *t* → *t*
5. *ṟ*/*L*/*ṛ*/*Ḷ*/*ḍ*/*x* + *t* → *ṯ*/*ṯ*/*ṭ*/*ṭ*/*ṭ*/*k*
6. *ṟ*/*l* + *t* → *t*/*t*
7. *y* + *d* → *d*
8. *r*/*l*/*n*/*s̱*/*ḷ*/*ṇ* + *d* → *d*/*ḏ*/*ḏ*/*ḏ*/*ḍ*/*ḍ*
9. *l* + *d* → *d*
10. *c* + *y* → *č*
11. ʒ + *y* → *j*

-θ-

1.	*kof-*	'to be turned upside down'	*kof*-θ-
	nen-	'to think'	*nen*-θ-
	naḍ-	'to happen'	*naḍ*-θ-
	kar-	'to steal'	*kar*-θ-
	par-	to write'	*par*-θ-
	kaṟ-	'to milk'	*kar*-θ-
	maṟ-	'to forget'	*maṟ*-θ-
	neṟ-	'to be full'	*neṟ*-θ-
	waṛ-	'to be broken'	*waṛ*-θ-

	aḶ–	'to measure'	*aḶ–θ-*
	peḶ–	'to grow'	*peḶ–θ-*
	nes–	'to weave'	*nes–θ–*
	pēy–	'to thatch'	*pē–s–*
	mīy–	'to graze'	*mī–s–*
	kīy–	'to do'	*kī–s–*
	kōy–	'to be hot'	*kō–s-*
	toṇy–	'to become cool'	*toṇ–s–*
	pīry–	'to be parted'	*pīr–s–*
	aṟy–	'to know'	*aṟ–s–*
	eṟy–	'to throw, cut'	*eṟ–s–*
	īr–	'to sit'	*ī-θ–*
	ur–	'to be lost'	*ū–θ–*

-*t*-

2.	*kof–*	'to turn upside down'	*kof–t–*
	uf-	'to shake off' (tr.)	*uf-t–*
	kwīṛ–	'to give'	*kwīṛ–t*
	kōf–	'to wait, watch'	*kō-t–*
	pūf–	'to blossom'	*pū–t–*
	neṟf–	'to fill (tr.)'	*neṟ–t–*
	aṛf–	'to shut'	*aṛ–t–*
	waṛf–	'to break (tr.)'	*waṛ–t–*
	peḶf–	'to grow (tr.)'	*peḶ–t–*
	uṣf–	'to plough'	*uṣ–t–*
	tīy-	'to roast, singe'	*tī-c–*

poy-	'to place'	*po-c-*
tōy-	'to lower'	*tō-c-*
pīry-	'to demolish'	*pīr-c-*
wīṛy-	'to crack'	*wīṛ-t-*
kaL-	'to learn'	*ka-ṯ-*
teL-	'to pay (fine, debt)'	*te-ṯ-*
pīṛ-	'to leave'	*pī-ṭ-*
oṛ-	'to cook'	*o-ṭ-*
poṛ-	'to lie down, suffer'	*po-ṭ-*
köṛ-	'to be ruined'	*kö-ṭ-*
tuṛ-	'to burn (tr.)'	*tu-ṭ-*
kēḶ-	'to hear'	*kē-ṭ-*
īḍ-	'to put'	*ī-ṭ-*
pux-	'to enter'	*pu-k-*

-d-

3. *koḷ-*	'to steal'	*koḷ-d-*
mīy-	'to bathe'	*mī-d-*
pōr-	'to come'	*po-d-*
tōr-	'to give to 1st or 2nd person'	*to-d-*
kāl-	'to fall'	*kā-ḏ-*
nīl-	'to stand'	*nī-ḏ-*
tīn-	'to eat'	*tī-ḏ-*
īn-	'to bear (calf)'	*ī-ḏ-*
ūḷ-	'to roll (intr.)'	*ū-ḍ-*
ōḷ-	'to rule'	*ō-ḍ-*
kōṇ-	'to see'	*ko-ḍ-*

-y-

4.	*top-*	'to fail to come'	*top-y-*
	nob-	'to believe'	*nob-y-*
	mōt-	'to change'	*mōt-y-*
	pīt-	'to sow'	*pīt-y-*
	kut-	'to pierce'	*kut-y-*
	īθ-	'to pull, drag'	*īθ-y-*
	wīθ-	'to read'	*wīθ-y-*
	mōṯ-	'to change (tr.)'	*mōṯ-y-*
	ūṯ-	'to drain'	*ūṯ-y-*
	nwīṭ-	'to look at'	*nwīṭ-y-*
	koṭ-	'to tie, build'	*koṭ-y-*
	ūṭ-	'to roll (tr.)'	*ūṭ-y-*
	ōḍ-	'to dance'	*ōḍ-y-*
	nīk-	'to brush away'	*nīk-y-*
	pīk-	'to tell lie'	*pīk-y-*
	omg-	'to be pressed down'	*omg-y-*
	kūx-	'to crow'	*kūx-y-*
	tūx-	'to hang (intr.)'	*tūx-y-*
	kalx-	'to be stirred up'	*kalx-y-*
	mōṟ-	'to change (intr.)'	*mōṟ-y-*
	kō̃ṟ-	'to winnow'	*kō̃ṟ-y-*
	kūṛ-	'to join'	*kūṛ-y-*
	mīc-	'to make to graze'	*mī-č-*
	koc-	'to bite'	*ko-č-*
	kōc-	'to boil'	*kō-č-*
	tīrc-	'to finish'	*tīr-č-*
	nilc-	'to make to stand'	*nil-č-*

niʒ–	'to swim'	*ni-j–*
oʒ–	'to fear'	*o-j–*
mōʒ–	'to hide'	*mō-,–*

Irregular

pīx–	'to go'	*pi–*
ōx–	'to become'	*ō-y–*
niθ–	'to weave'	*ni-θ–*

Emeneau (1957 : 43-44) symbolizes the past tense morpheme as {Sib.}; it has several sibilant allomorphs.

pīx- (pi–) 'to go'

	I (Followed by interrogative word) Sg.		I Pl.	II (Preceded by interrogative word) Sg.	II Pl.
1.	*pišpen*	(excl.)	*pišpem*	*pišn*	*pišm*
		(incl.)	*pišpum*		
2.	*pišpy*		*piš*	*pič*	*piš*
3. (sg. pl.)	*pič*			*pišk*	

(ii) Past Adverb: The morpheme is {Sib.}. The allomorphy of this is somewhat different from that of the past tense morpheme which also has the same shape.

pič 'having gone' (: *pīx–, pi–* 'to go')
nwīṣš 'having seen' (: *nwīṭ–, nwīṭy–* 'to see')
poz 'having come' (: *pōr–, pod–* 'to come')
naṛθṣ 'having walked' (: *naṛ–, naṛθ–* 'to walk')

(iii) Past Adjective: It is formed by adding *-foy* to the secondary stem.

pišk-foy 'that killed'
kwīs-foy 'that plucked'
naṛθ-foy 'that walked'

2.5. Kodagu

(i) Finite Forms: The great majority of the Koḍagu past tense stems may be divided into four subclasses according to the past suffixes they take. The past suffixes are 1. *-d-*, 2. *-nd-*, 3. *-t-* and 4. *-i-*. All the three dental suffixes have variants with the corresponding retroflexes (i.e. *-ḍ-*, *-ṇḍ-* and *-ṭ-*) when preceded by the retroflex consonants *ḷ* and *ṇ* and with palatals (i.e. *-j-*, *-ñj-* and *-c-*) when preceded by the front vowels *i* and *e* or the palatal consonant *y*. In some pairs *-nd-* (~*-ñj-*) and *-t-* (~*-c-*) are related as intransitive and transitive in addition to representing past tense as is the case with the corresponding suffixes in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota and Toda.

-d-

1.	*en-*	'to say'	*en-d-*
	tin-	'to eat'	*tin-d-*
	uṇ-	'to eat meal'	*uṇ-ḍ-*
	kāṇ-	'to see'	*kaṇ-ḍ-*
	bāḷ-	'to rule'	*bad-d-*
	ë̄ḷ-	'to get up'	*ëd-d-*
	būḷ-	'to fall'	*bud-d-*
	bay-	'to abuse'	*baj-j-*

key-	'to work'	*kej-j-*
koy-	'to pluck, harvest'	*koj-j-*
poy-	'to beat, rain'	*poj-j-*
nēy-	'to spin (thread)'	*nej-j-*

-nd-

2.	*oḍe-*	'(pot) is broken'	*oḍa-nd-*
	nere-	'to attain puberty'	*nera-nd-*
	nō-	'to pain'	*no-nd-*
	kara-	'to milk'	*kara-nd-*
	era-	'to beg'	*era-nd-*
	kara-	'to milk'	*kara-nd-*
	aḷa-	'to measure'	*aḷa-nd-*
	aṇi	'to wear'	*aṇi-ñj-*
	taṇi-	'to become cool'	*taṇi-ñj-*
	ari-	'to find out'	*ari-nj-*
	tiri	'to become known'	*tiri-ñj-*
	kāy-	'to become hot'	*kā-ñj-*
	tēy-	'to wear off'	*tē-ñj-*
	mēy-	'to graze'	*mē-ñj-*
	nēr-	'to hang (intr.)'	*nē-nd-*
	tār-	'to descend'	*tā-nd-*
	bar-	'to come'	*ba-nd-*
	tar-	'to give to 1st or 2nd person'	*ta-nd*
	koll-	'to kill'	*ko-nd-*
	nill-	'to stand'	*ni-nd-*
	koḷḷ-	'to take'	*ko-ṇḍ-*
	urīḍ-	'to roll (intr.)'	*urī-ṇḍ-*

nīḍ-	'to stretch out' (intr.)'	*nī-ṇḍ-*
ir-	'to be in a place'	*i-ñj-*

-t-

3.	*nena-*	'to think'	*nena-t-*
	oḍa-	'to break'	*oḍa-t-*
	ara-	'to grind up'	*ara-t-*
	bara-	'to fry (tr.)'	*bara-t-*
	nera-	'to fill'	*nera-t-*
	kaḷa-	'to dig'	*kaḷa-t-*
	uḍī-	'to wear'	*uḍī-t-*
	perī-	'to increase (intr.)'	*perī-t-*
	to-	'to salute'	*to-t-*
	kodi-	'to boil'	*kodi-c-*
	kaḍi-	'to bite'	*kaḍi-c-*
	kuḍi-	'to drink'	*kuḍi-c-*
	eri-	'to burn'	*eri-c-*
	piri-	'to turn'	*piri-c-*
	kuḷi-	'to take bath'	*kuḷi-c-*
	mēy-	'to graze (tr.)'	*mē-c-*
	tēy-	'to wear off (tr.)'	*tē-c-*
	per-	'to bear (child)'	*pe-t-*
	ter-	'to pay (penalty)'	*te-t-*
	kaḷḷ-	'to steal'	*ka-ṭ-*
	kē̄ḷ-	'to ask, hear'	*kē̄-ṭ-*
	pūḷ-	'to bury'	*pū-t-*
	ūḷ-	'to plough'	*u-t-*
	paḍ-	'to suffer'	*pa-ṭ-*
	buḍ-	'to leave'	*bu-ṭ-*
	naḍī-	'to plant'	*na-ṭ-*

-*i*-

4.	*tap-* 'to escape'	*tap-i-*
	namb- 'to trust'	*namb-i-*
	āt- 'to dry (tr.)'	*āt-i-*
	māt- 'to change (tr.)'	*māt-i-*
	kut- 'to thrust'	*kut-i-*
	ōd- 'to read'	*ōd-i*
	pann- 'to drizzle'	*pann-i*
	āṭ- 'to move (tr.)'	*āṭ-i-*
	nōṭ- 'to look at'	*nō-ṭ-*
	māḍ- 'to do'	*māḍ-i-*
	pāḍ- 'to sing'	*pāḍ-i-*
	kāc- 'to boil (tr.)'	*kāc-i-*
	tāk- 'to lean (tr.)'	*tāk-i-*
	kalak- 'to stir up'	*kalak-i-*
	tūṅg- 'to hang (intr.)'	*tūṅg-i-*
	mār- 'to sell'	*mār-i-*
	sēr- 'to join (intr.)'	*sēr-i-*
	āḷ- 'to rule'	*āḷ-i-*
	mūs- 'to smell (tr.)'	*mūs-i-*

Irregular

āg /ā- 'to become'	*ā-yi-/ā-n-*
pō- 'to go'	*pō-y-/pō-c-*

bar- (ba-nd-) 'to come'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*ba-nd-ĕ*	*ba-nd-ëtī/bā-∅-tī*
2.	*ba-nd-iya*	*ba-nd-ira*
3. (sg., pl.)	*ba-nd-ëtī/bā-∅-tī*	

(ii) PAST ADVERB : This is formed by adding the suffix *–itī* (with a variant *–tī* after *i*) to the past stem of a verb.

ba-nd–itī 'having come'
ta-nd-itī 'having given'
kej–j–itī 'having done'
cuṭ-ṭ–itī 'having burnt'
māḍ-i-tī 'having made'

(iii) PAST ADJECTIVE : This is formed by adding to the past stem of a verb the adjective marker *–ë*. The past tense marker *–i–* is in free variation with *–īn–* before *–ë*.

ba–nd-ë 'that gave/given'
ta–nd-ë 'that did/done'
cuṭ-ṭ-ë 'that burned/burnt'
māḍ–īn ë / *māḍ–iy–ë* } 'that made'

(iv) CONDITIONAL : It is formed by adding *-ēṅgi* to the past stem (or variant of the past adverb) of a verb. Originally this was a periphrastic construction; the suffix *-ēṅgi* is from *en–kil*, the conditional form of the verb *en–* 'to say', cf. Ma. *eṅ–kil* used in the same way.

ba-nd–ēngi 'if (subject) comes'
kej-j-ēngi 'if (subject) does'
aḍi–c–ēngi 'if (subject) beats'

2.6. Kannada

(i) FINITE FORMS : In Kannaḍa the past stem of verbs is formed by adding one of the suffixes, 1. *-d-*, 2 *-t–*, 3. *-nd-* and 4. *-id-*(*∼-i*). The allomorph *-nd-* occurs only

in a few verbs, all of which have variants of the shape CV before it (base final *l*, *ḷ* and *r* are lost before it and after *ḷ* it changes to *ṇḍ*). Other important morphophonemic rules are :

1. *d* → *ḍ* / *ṇ*–
2. *g* / *d* / *ḍ* + *t* → *kk* / *tt* / *ṭṭ*

From the Middle Kannaḍa period onwards, the base final consonants *l̤*, *l*, *r* and *y* are lost before the suffixes *-d-* and *-t-*. Moreover, verbs which ended in a consonant in Old Kannaḍa added *u* in the mediaeval dialect and consequently they formed their past stems with the suffix *-id-* which occurs after bases ending in *u*), e.g. Old *kēḷ-d-*/ Mid. Mod. *kēḷ-id-*, past stem of *kēḷ* 'to hear, ask'.

-d-

1.	*ir* 'to be'	*ir-d-*/*id-d-*
	gel 'to win'	*gel-d-*/*ged-d-*
	tin 'to eat'	*tin-d-*
	īn '(animal) to bring forth young'	*ī-d-*
	ēl̤ 'to rise'	*el̤-d-*/*er-d-*/*ed-d-*
	bīl̤ 'to fall'	*bil̤-d-*/*bir-d-*/*bid-d-*
	āl̤ 'to be immersed'	*al̤-d-*/*ar-d-*/*ad-d-*
	uṇ 'to eat a meal'	*uṇ-ḍ-*
	kāṇ 'to see'	*kaṇ-ḍ-*
	kāy 'to grow hot'	*kāy-d-*/*kā-d-*
	aḷe 'to measure'	*aḷe-d-*/*aḷa-d-*
	are 'to grind'	*are-d-*/*ara-d-*
	naḍe 'to walk'	*naḍe-d-*/*naḍa-d-*
	tiri 'to turn round'	*tiri-d-*

	koy	'to cut'	*koy-d-*
	ney	'to weave'	*ney-d-/nē-d-*

-t-

2.	*nūl*	'to spin'	*nūl-t-/nū-t-*
	uṟu	'to be, come about'	*ur-t-/ut-t-*
	uḻ	'to plough'	*uḻ-t-/ut-t-*
	pūḻ/hūḻ	'to bury'	*pūḻ-t-/hū-t-*
	kāy	'to fructify'	*kāy-t-/kā-t-*
	iḍu	'to place'	*iṭ-ṭ-*
	biḍu	'to leave'	*biṭ-ṭ-*
	pogu	'to enter'	*pok-k-*
	nagu	'to laugh'	*nak-k*
	sāy	'to die'	*sat-t*
	isu/esu	'shoot (as an arrow)'	*ec-c-*
	mudu	'to mature'	*mut-t-*
	ī	'to give'	*it-t-*
	aṟi	'to know'	*aṟi-t-/aṟi-d-*
	nēl	'to hang'	*nēl-t-/nēl-d-*

-nd-

3.	*bē(yu)*	'to be burned'	*be-nd-*
	nō(yu)	'to pain'	*no-nd-*
	mī(yu)	'to bathe'	*mi-nd/mi-d-*
	bar/bār	'to come'	*ba-nd-*
	tar/tār	'to bring'	*ta-nd-*
	kol	'to kill'	*ko-nd-*
	nil	'to stand'	*ni-nd-*
	koḷ	'to seize'	*ko-ṇd-*

-id-

4. *māḍu*	'to do, make'	*māḍ-id-*
kaṭṭu	'to tie'	*kaṭṭ-id-*
āḍu	'to dance'	*āḍ-id-*
tūgu	'to hang'	*tūg-id-*

kēḷ (*kēḷ-d-*) 'to hear, ask'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*kēḷ-d-eṃ/enu*	*kēḷ-d-eṃ/evu*
2.	*kēḷ-d-ay*	*kēḷ-d-ir*
3m.	*kēḷ-d-aṃ/oṃ/anu*	
		hum. *kēḷ-d-ar/or*
f.	*kēḷ-d-aḷ/oḷ/aḷu*	
n.	*kēḷ-d-uttu/attu*	*kēḷ-d-uvu*

(ii) Past Adverb: The past stem itself functions as the past adverb; *-id-* has a variant *-i* in this form and the forms ending in the other suffixes take the enunciative vowel *u*.

kēḷ-du 'having heard'
ba-ndu 'having come'
sat-tu 'having died'
biṭ-ṭu 'having left'
āḍ-i 'having danced'

(iii) Past Adjective: This is formed by adding to the past stem the adjective marker *-a*.

kēḷ-d-a 'that heard'
ba-nd-a 'that came'
sat-t-a 'that died'

biṭ-ṭ-a 'that left'
āḍ-id-a 'that danced'

(iv) CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE: It is formed by adding the conditional suffix *-are* to the past stem of a verb.

ba-nd-are 'if (subject) comes'
bare-d-are 'if (subject) writes'

The concessive is formed by adding *-arū* (< conditional *-are* + copula *-ū*) to the past stem.

ba-nd-arū 'even if (subject) comes'
bare-d-arū 'even if (subject) writes'

In Old Kannaḍa the conditional suffix is *-oḍe* and it is added to the past and also the future stem of a verb.

pēḷ-d-oḍe 'if (subject) speaks'
pogaḻ-d-oḍe 'if (subject) praises'

2.7. Tuḷu

(i) FINITE FORMS: Tuḷu has two finite constructions in the past. They are 1. Immediate Past and 2. Distant Past (or Perfect). The suffix for the immediate past has the following variants, 1. *-y-*, 2. *-t-*, 3. *-d-* (~*-ḍ-*); of these *-d-* and *-ḍ-* occur after verbs ending *n* and *ṇ* respectively and *-y-* and *-t-* are morphologically conditioned. The suffix for the distant past has the following morphologically conditioned variants 1. *-tid-*, 2. *-t-* and 3. *-d-*. The allomorph *-y-* of the immediate past suffix becomes Ø before 3rd neut. sg. *-ṇḍi*.

Class I

		I. P.	D. P.
kal-	'to learn'	*kal-t-*	*kal-tid-*
aḍi-	'to sweep'	*aḍi-t*	*aḍi-tid-*
kā-	'to wait'	*kā-t-*	*kā-tid-*
ja-	'to get down'	*jat-t-*	*jat-tid-*

Class II

pari-	'to drink'	*pari-y-*	*par-t-*
ā-	'to become'	*ā-y-*	*ā-t*
agi-	'to chew'	*agi-y*	*agi-t-*
tū-	to see'	*tū-y*	*tū-t-*
pō	'to go'	*pō-y-*	*pō-t-*
barē-	'to write'	*barē-y-*	*barē-t-*

Class III

pairi-	'to spread'	*pairi-y-*	*padiri-d-*
pāḍi-	'to put'	*pāḍi-y-*	*pāḍ-d-*
tāṅgi-	'to support'	*tāṇgi-y-*	*tāṅgi-d-*
lakki-	'to get up'	*lakki-y-*	*lakki-d-*
uṇṅgi-	'to dry up'	*uṇṅgi-y-*	*uṇṅgi-d-*
puriñci-	'to squeeze'	*puriñci-y-*	*puriñci-d-*
akkiḍi-	'to hang'	*akkiḍi-y-*	*akkiḍi-d-*
aṅgā-	'to open (mouth)'	*aṅgā-y-*	*aṅgā-d-*

Class IV

paṇ-	'to tell'	*paṇ-ḍ-*	*paṇ-t-*
kēṇ-	'to hear'	*kēṇ-ḍ-*	*kēṇ-d-*
tin-	'to eat'	*tin-d-*	*tin-t-*

		I. P.	D. P.
bar-	'to come'	*bat-t-*	*bat-tɨd-*
tay-	'to die'	*tay-t-*	*tay-tɨd-*

(Common Tuḷu)

kal (pu)- 'to learn'

	Immediate Past		Distant Past	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*kal-t-ɛ*	*kal-t-a*	*kal-tɨd-ɛ*	*kal-tɨd-a*
2.	*kal-t-a*	*kal-t-arɨ*	*kal-tɨd-a*	*kal-tɨd-arɨ*
3m.	*kal-t-e*		*kal-tɨd-e*	
hum.		*kalt-erɨ*		*kal-tɨd-erɨ*
f.	*kal-t-alɨ̄*		*kal-tɨd-alɨ*	
n.	*kal-t-iṇḍɨ*	*kal-t-a*	*kal-tɨd-iṇḍɨ*	*kal-tɨd-a*

(Brahmin Tulu)

kaṭɨ 'to tie'

1.	*kaṭ-y-ɛ*	*kaṭ-y-o*	*kaṭ-ɨd-ɛ*	*kaṭ-ɨd-o*
2.	*kaṭ-y-a*	*kaṭ-y-arɨ*	*kaṭ-ɨd-a*	*kaṭ-ɨd-arɨ*
3m.	*kaṭ-y-e*		*kaṭ-ɨd-e*	
hum.		*kaṭ-y-erɨ*		*kaṭ-ɨd-erɨ̄*
f.	*kaṭ-y-aḷɨ*		*kaṭ-ɨd-aḷɨ*	
n.	*kaṭ-∅-ṇɨ*	*kaṭ-y-o*	*kaṭ-ɨd-ɨnɨ*	*kaṭ-ɨd-o*

(ii) Past Adverb : In common Tuḷu (according to B. Ramachandra Rao 1968, § 15) verbs of class I have two participles which are identical with the distant and the immediate past stems (with the additional enunciative vowel *ɨ*). In verbs of class II, the suffix is *-dɨ* in the common dialect and *-tɨ* in the Brahmin dialect. In verbs of class III the distant past stem alone functions as the participle.

Class I

kal–tɨ } 'having learnt'
kal–tɨdɨ

aḍi–tɨ } 'having swept'
aḍi–tɨdɨ

Class II

kor–dɨ 'having given'
tū–dɨ 'having seen'
pō·dɨ 'having gone'

Class III

pāḍ-dɨ 'having put'
lakk(ɨ)–dɨ 'having got up'

Class IV

paṇ–ḍɨdɨ 'having told'
kēṇ–ḍɨdɨ 'having asked'
ba–ttɨ } 'having come'
ba–ttɨdɨ

In the Brahmin dialect (according to Shankara Bhat 1967 : 67) the suffix is *-tɨ*; after bases belonging to set II it freely varies with a zero allomorph.

bare-tɨ 'having written'
koy–tɨ 'having plucked'
ōdu–tu 'having read'
nāḍɨ–tɨ } 'having searched'
nāḍɨ–Ø
kaṭɨ–tɨ } 'having tied'
kaṭɨ–Ø

(iii) Past Adjective: Two types of adjective are formed by adding to the immediate and the distant past stems the adjective marker *-i*. The immediate past suffix *-y-* occurring after bases ending in a consonant is dropped before *-i*. According to Brigel (1872), *-i* has a variant *-in* before pronouns beginning with a vowel.

kal-t-i	'that learnt'	*kal-tid-i*	'that had learnt'
ker-Ø-i	'that killed'	*ker-t-i*	'that had killed'
ag-Ø-i	'that chewed'	*agi-t-i*	'that had chewed'
pō-y-i	'that went'	*pō-t-i*	'that had gone'
kēṇ-ḍ-i	'that heard'	*kēṇ-d-i*	'that had heard'
tin-d-i	'that ate/eaten'	*tin-t-i*	'that had (been) eaten'

(iv) Conditional and Concessive: The conditional sense is expressed by adding the particle *-ḍa* (~*-a*) (*-ṇṭ-* in the Gowda dialect) to the finite forms (of all tenses). When *-ḍa* is added to 3 neut. sg. suffix *-ṇḍi*, its *ḍ* is dropped. The 3rd person neuter singular conditional form of a verb also is used for all persons, genders and numbers. The concessive is made by adding *-la* to the conditional, e.g., *kal-t-e-ṇṭa-la* 'even though he has learnt'.

kal-t-e-ḍa	'if he has learnt'
kal-tid-e-ḍ-a	'if he had learnt'
tin-ti-ṇḍ-a	'if (subject) had eaten'
pō-ṇḍ-a	'if (subject) goes'
tin-pu-ṇḍ-a	'if (subject) will eat'
pō-pu-ṇḍ-a	'if (subject) will go'

2.8. Telugu

(i) FINITE FORMS: In Old Telugu the past tense morpheme is /*-e-* ∞ *i-* ∞ *- iti-*(~ *-ṭi-*)/; *-e-* occurs before 3 m. f. n. sg., n. pl. suffix *-nu*, *-i-* before 3 hum. pl. suffix *-ri* and *-iti-* occurs elsewhere. *-iti-* has a variant *-ṭi-* after bases containing a short vowel and ending in *-n(u)*; before it these bases have alternants in final *ṇ*, e.g. *viṇ-ṭi-ni* 'I heard' from *vinu* 'to hear'. The suffix *-e-* freely alternates with *-iye-* after bases of the (C)VCV type, *kan-e-nu*/*kan-iye-nu* 'he/she/it/they (neut.) saw' from *kanu* 'to see'. (The sequences enclosed by parentheses in the following paradigm may optionally be dropped. In Telugu (Old or modern) a short *u* is always elided when followed by another vowel). Base final *y* changes to *s* before a suffix beginning with front vowel, e.g. *cēs-iti-(ni)* 'I did' from *cēyu* 'to do'.

ceppu 'to tell'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cepp-iti-(ni)*	*cepp-iti-mi*
2.	*cepp-iti-(vi)*	*cepp-iti-ri*
	hum.	*cepp-i-ri*
3. (m. f. n. sg. & n. pl.)	*cepp-e-nu*	

In modern Telugu (coastal dialects) the past tense morpheme is /*-ɛ̄-* (~ *-ā-*) ∞ *-in-* (~ *-∅-*)/. *-ɛ̄-* occurs before all personal endings other than 3rd non-m. sg. *-di*; it has a variant *-ā-* after verbs containing a short vowel and ending in *n* or *ḍu* and after two irregular verbs *avu*/*ayy-* 'to

become', and *pō/pōy-* 'to go' (the latter forms are the alternants before the past morpheme or a suffix beginning with front vowel). Base final *n* and *ḍu* are replaced by *nn* and *ḍḍ* respectively before *ā*, e.g. *tinn-ā-* from *tinu* 'to eat', before *paḍḍ-ā-* from *paḍu* 'to fall'. The allomorph *-in-* occurs 3rd non-m. sg. suffix *-di;* after verbs with a short vowel and ending in *n* it is replaced by zero, e.g. *tin-Ø-di* 'she/it ate'.

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*cepp-ɛ̄-nu*		*cepp-ɛ̄-mu*
2.	*cepp-ɛ̄-vu*		*cepp-ɛ̄-ru*
3.	m. *cepp-ɛ̄-ḍu*	hum.	*cepp-ɛ̄-ru*
	non-m. *cepp-in-di*		*cepp-ɛ̄-yi*

In the Rayalaseema dialect *-in-* is the suffix in all persons and after it, the personal suffix begins with *ā*, e.g. *cepp-in-ānu,* etc.

(ii) Past Adverb: In Old as well as modern Telugu it is formed by adding *-i* to the verb base.

cepp-i 'having told'

aḍig-i 'having asked' (: *aḍugu*)

tin-i 'having eaten'

vacc-i 'having come'

cēs-i 'having done' (:*cēyu*)

In spoken Telugu, another past adverb with the suffix /*-ɛ̄k* ~ *āka*/ occurs in the sense "after Verb-ing"; the conditioning of the allomorphs is the same as that of the allomorphs *-ɛ̄-* and *-ā-* of the past tense morpheme.

cepp-ɛ̄ka 'after telling'

tinn-āka 'after eating'

aḍig-ɛ̄ka 'after asking'

Historically these are derived from past adjective plus the word *venaka* 'afterwards', e.g. *cepp-ina* + *venaka* > *cepp-ɛ̄ka*.

(iii) PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding to the base the suffix *-ina* (originally it is a combination of two morphemes, viz., *-in-*, past tense marker, and *-a* adjective marker). In Old Telugu verbs ending in a short vowel plus one of the consonants *n*, *ḍ* and *g* (only one verb ending in the last one) alternately formed their past adjective with the suffix variant *-a* before which the final consonants are doubled. In modern Telugu also these two varieties are found in verbs ending in *ḍ* or *g*; in the case of verbs ending in *n*, the *i* of *-in-* is automatically dropped since in modern Telugu a short vowel that occurs between two identical (single) consonants is dropped.

cēs-ina 'that did/done' (: *cēyu*)

cepp-ina 'that told'

paḍ-ina / *paḍḍ-a* } 'that fell'

ceḍ-ina / *ceḍḍ-a* } 'that spoiled'

tag-ina / *tagg-a* } 'that is suitable'

(Old) *tin-in-a* (Old & mod.) *tinn-a*	'that ate/eaten'
(Old) *kon-ina* (Old & mod.) *konn-a*	'that bought'

(iv) CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE : In Old Telugu the conditional and concessive suffix is *-inan*. After verbs with a short vowel followed by *n* or *ḍ*, it has a variant *-an* and before it the *n* or *ḍ* is doubled.

cepp-inan	'if/even though (subject) tell(s)'
aḍig-inan	'if/even though (subject) ask(s)'
tin-inan *tinn-an*	'if/even though (subject) eat(s)'
paḍ-inan *paḍḍ-an*	'if/even though (subject) fall(s)'

In modern Telugu the conditional suffix is /*-itē* ~ *-ṭē*/; *-ṭē* occurs after verbs with a short vowel and ending in *n* and *-itē* occurs elsewhere. Note that in *y* ending verbs $y \rightarrow s$ /–FV and $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ / *s* – *t*.

aḍig-itē	'if (subject) ask(s)'
cēs-tē	'if (subject) do(es)'
tiṇ-ṭē	'if (subject) eat(s)'
koṇ-ṭē	'if (subject) buy(s)'

The concessive suffix in modern Telugu is *-inā* (it is the continuation of the Old Telugu conditional-concessive suffix).

cepp–inā 'even though (subject) tell(s)'
aḍig–inā 'even though (subject) ask(s)'
cēs-inā even though (subject) come(s)'
tin–nā 'even though (subject) eat(s)'

2.9. Gondi

(1) Adilabad Dialect

(i) Finite Forms: The past tense suffix is *–t–*; it has a variant *-ṭṭ-* after the verb *un–* 'to drink'; the *n* is dropped before *-ṭṭ-*. In verbs ending in *n*, it is replaced by *–t–* before *-t-*, e.g. *tit-t–* from *tin–* 'to eat'.

pā– 'to beat'

	Sg	Pl.
1.	*pā-t-ōn*	*pā-t-ōm*
2.	*pā-t-ī*	*pā-t-īṭ*
3 m.	*pā–t-ōr*	*pā–t-ēr*
non-m.	*pā–t–ā*	*pā–t-āṅ*

(ii) Past Adverb: The suffix is /*–sī* ∞ *-cī* ~ *-jī*/; *-cī* occurs after verbs ending in *c, j, t, d* or *h* and also after *tar–* 'to bring', *–jī* after verb ending in *n* and *–sī* occurs elsewhere.

kāc–cī 'having dug'
ēc-cī 'having taken' (: *ēt-*)
uc–cī 'having sat' (: *udd–*)
toh-cī 'having shown'
tac–cī 'having brought' (: *tar–*)
tin-jī 'having eaten'
un–jī 'having drunk'

son–jī 'having gone'

aṭ–sī }
aṛ–sī } 'having cooked'

sūṛ–sī 'having seen'
vār–sī 'having sung'

This participle is often followed by the clitic *-kūn*, e.g. *tin–jī*/*tin–jī kūn* 'having eaten'.

(iii) PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding to the past stem the adjective marker *–ā*. The past adjective syntactically occurs only before *–āp* 'like, as' before which the *–ā* is dropped, and before the two words *barobar* 'as soon as' and *pahajē* 'it is necessary'.

veh–t-Ø āp 'as (somebody) told'
veh–t-ā barōbar 'as soon as (somebody) told'
kī–t–ā pahajē 'It is necessary to do'

(iv) CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE: The conditional suffix is *ēkē* and it is added to the past stem (and also to the non-past and negative stems) of a verb.

sūr–t–ēkē 'if/when (subject) saw'
vā–t–ēkē 'if/when (subject) came'
sot–t–ēkē 'if/when (subject) went'

The concessive is expressed by adding *-tēr* or *-gir* to the conditional (the final *ē* of the latter is optionally dropped before *–tēr*).

vā–t–ēk(ē)tēr }
vā–t–ēkē gir } 'even though (subject) come/comes'

(II) **The Koya Dialect**

(i) FINITE FORMS : The past tense suffix is /*-t'-* ∞ *-t't'-* ∞ *-tt-*/. *-tt-* occurs after verbs ending in *nn* (*ti-tt-* : *tinn-* 'to eat') and also after the following nine irregular verbs, *tarr-* (*ta-tt-*) 'to bring', *varr-* (*va-tt-*) 'to come', *ā-* (*a-tt-*, 'to become', *ī-* (*i-tt-*) 'to give', *vē* (*ve-tt-*) 'to be cooked', *kell-*(*ke-tt-*) 'to tell', *oy-*(*o-tt-*) 'to take away', *ann-* (*a-tt-*) 'to go' and *mand-* (*ma-tt-*) 'to be'. *-t't'* (glottalized *tt*) occurs after verbs of the type (C)v̆̄, e.g. *mu-t't'* - (: *mu-* 'to immerse'), *to-t't'-* (: *to-* 'to tie'), *kā-t't'-* (: *kā-* 'to dig'. *-t'-* occurs after the remaining verbs, e.g. *uḍ-t'-* (: *uḍ-* 'to plough') *talp-t'-* (: *talp-* 'to ask'.)

ūḍ- 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*ūḍ-t'-ana*	*ūḍ-t'-āma*
2.	*ūḍ-t'-ni*	*ūḍ-t'-ri*
3.m.	*ūd-t'-ōṇḍu*	*ūḍ-t'-ōru*
non-m.	*ūḍ-t'-e*	*ūd-t'ā(ku)*

(ii) PAST ADVERB : The suffix is /*-i* ∞ *-si* ∞ *-ci* ~ *-ji*/ *-ji* occurs after stems ending in *nn*, *-ci* occurs after monosyllabic stems or stem allomorphs that end in a vowel and after *ēn-* 'to receive'; *-si* occurs after the stems of the (C)VC type and after the irregular verbs *varr-* 'to come' *ā-* 'to become', *ī-* 'to give', *vē-* 'to be cooked' and *oy-* 'to carry away'; and *-i* occurs elsewhere.

an-ji 'having gone'
un-ji- 'having drunk'

to-cci 'having tied'
ta-cci 'having brought'
ke-cci 'having told'
kā-cci 'having dug'
ēn-ci 'having received'
uḍ-si 'having ploughed'
pay-si 'having broken (intr.)'
vā-si 'having come'
ī-si 'having given'
ō-si 'having carried away'
ūḍ-i 'having seen'
tiriy-i 'having taked'
mēy-i 'having grazed'
ūḍ-i 'having seen'

(iii) Past Adjective: It is formed by adding the adjective marker *-a* to the past stem.

uḍ-t'-a 'that ploughed'
ūḍ-t'-a 'that saw/seen'
kā-t't'-a 'that dug'
va-tt-a 'that came'

(iv) Conditional and Concessive: The conditional is formed by adding the suffix *-k'u* to the past stem (the past suffix *-tt-* changes to *-t'-* before it).

a-t'-k'u 'if (subject) go(es)'
ūḍ-t'-k'u 'if (subject) see(s)'

The concessive is formed by adding *-āna* to the conditional.

a-t'-k'-āna 'even though (subject) go(es)'
ūḍ-t'-k'-āna 'even though (subject) see(s)'

2.10. Konda

(I) Araku Dialect

(i) FINITE FORMS : The past tense marker has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, *-t-* and *-it-*. The allomorph *-it-* occurs after bases ending in a voiced obstruent, i.e. *g*, *ḍ*, *d*, *b*, *z* or *ṟ* (in the case of *ṟ*, only when it is preceded by a long vowel) and in the sonorants *ṅ*, *v*, *ṛ* and *l* (in the case of *l*, when preceded by a long vowel). The allomorph *-t-* occurs after the remaining bases which include the two irregular verbs, *iḍ-* 'to put' and *tūl-* '(water) to be splashed.' Seven stems of the type (C)V *ṟ-* change the *ṟ* into *R* before the past tense allomorph *-t-*. In five stems ending in *n* and three ending in *l* (< **l*), the morphophonemic change *n*/*l* + *t* → *R* operates. In four stems ending in *l* (< **ḷ*) and one ending in *ṇ*, the morphophonemic change *l* / *ṇ* + *t* → *ṭ* operates.

-it-

1.	*ḍig-*	'to get down'	*ḍig-it-*
	paṇḍ-	'to ripen'	*paṇḍ-it-*
	pand-	'to plan'	*pand-it-*
	sab-	'to rot'	*sab-it-*
	kinz-	'to be torn'	*kinz-in*
	tōṟ-	'to appear'	*tōṟ-it-*
	ḍāṅ-	'to be hidden'	*ḍāṅ-it-*
	tev-	'to be snapped'	*tev-it-*
	kūṛ-	'to meet, assemble'	*kūṛ-it-*
	tēl-	'to wipe off (tears)'	*tēl-it-*

-t-

2. *iḍ-*	'to put'	*iḍ-t-*
nik-	'to raise'	*nik-t-*
kāp-	'to protect'	*kāp-t-*
sā-	'to die'	*sā-t-*
uṟ-	'to butt with horns'	*uR-t-*
noṟ-	'to wash'	*noR-t-*
in-	'to say'	*i-R-*
tin-	'to eat'	*ti-R-*
man-	'to be'	*ma-R-*
son-	'to go'	*so-R-*
nil-	'to stand'	*ni-R-*
tūl-	'to be splashed'	*tū-R-*
al-	'to plait'	*a-ṭ-*
kol-	'to buy'	*ko-ṭ-*
mūl-	'to urinate'	*mū-ṭ-*
uṇ-	'to drink'	*u-ṭ-*

ḍig- (*ḍig-it-*) 'to get down'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*ḍig-it-a*	(excl.)	*ḍig-it-ap*
		(incl.)	*ḍig-it-aṭ*
2.	*ḍig-it-i* (*d*)		*ḍig-it-ider*
3m.	*ḍig-it-an*		*ḍig-it-ar*
non-m.	*ḍig-it-ad*		*ḍig-it-e*

(ii) Past Adverb: The suffix is /*-zi*~*-si*/; *-si* occurs after bases ending in the vowels *a*, *e*, *ē*, *o* and *ō* and in voiceless obstruents and also in *r* and *ṟ* preceded by a short vowel; the other allomorph *-zi* occurs in the remaining stems. When *-si* and *-zi* are added to bases ending in *s* and *z* respectively, one of the two consonants is lost.

ar-si 'having fallen'
toR-si 'having tied'
arp-si 'having thrown'
ta-si 'having brought'
as-si → *a-si* 'having held'
vā-zi 'having come'
piṇḍ-zi 'having carried'
reba-zi 'having searched for'
panz-zi → *pan-zi* 'having become satiated'

(iii) PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding to the past stem the adjective marker *-i*.

sā-t-i 'that died'
as-t-i 'that held'
aṛba-t-i 'that carried'
gūr-it-i 'that slept'

(iv) CONDITIONAL: The conditional suffix *-iṅa* is added to the past, non-past and negative stem of a verb.

vā-t-iṅa 'if (subject) come(s)'
suṛ-t-iṅa 'if (subject) see(s)'

(v) EXTENTIVE: The extentive suffix *-eṇḍa* is also added to the past, non-past and the negative stems of a verb.

ṛē-t-eṇḍa 'until (subject) open(s)'
ti-R-eṇḍa 'until (subject) eat(s)'

(II) Koraput Dialect

(i) FINITE FORMS: In this dialect also the past tense morpheme has the two allomorphs *-t-* and *-it-* and their

distribution is more or less similar to that of the Araku Dialect.

sūṛ- (*sūṛ-t-*) 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*sūṛ-t-a*	*sūṛ-t-ap*
2.	*sūṛ-t-i*	*sūṛ-t-ider*
3m.	*sūṛ-t-an*	*sūṛ-t-ar*
non-m.	*sūṛ-t-at*	*sūṛ-t-e*

(ii) Past Adverb: It is formed by adding to the base one of the suffixes, *-su* (*-so*), *-jo* (*-zo*), *-ju* (*-zu*); the distribution of these is not clear from the available grammatical outline.

tā-su 'having given'

soḻ-su 'having gone'

pok-sosi 'having thrown, give'

pār-ju 'having sung'

per-ji 'having swept'

ki-zo 'having done'

(iii) Past Adjective: It is formed by adding to the past tense stem the adjective marker *-i*.

ar-t-i 'that fell'

paṇḍ-it-i 'that ripened'

(iv) Conditional: The suffix *-iṅ* is added to the past stem.

2.11. Pengo

(i) FINITE FORMS: THE PAST TENSE: The suffix is *-t-*. The following sandhi changes take place when it is added to the base:

(i) B → P/ *-t* (B = Voiced stop or *z*; P = Voiceless stop or *s*) (optional in the case of *ḍ*)

(ii) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ṭ \\ ḍ \end{matrix} \right\}$ → *ṛ* / *-t* (optional)

(iii) *nd* + *t* → *n(t)t* (optional)

(iv) V*nḍ* → Ṽ*ṛ*/ *-t* (rarely)

(v) *ṇ* + *t* → *ṭ*

(vi) *t* → *c*/*c*–

(vii) *j* + *t* → *cc*

(viii) *nj* + *t* → *n(c)c*

(ix) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} n \\ l \end{matrix} \right\}$ + *t* → *c* (in a few cases)

ta-	'to bring'	*ta-t-*
hī-	'to give'	*hi-t-*
kūk-	'to call'	*kūk-t-*
pot-	'to bore'	*pot-t-*
niṅ(g)-	'to rise'	*niṅ-t-*
tog-	'to tread'	*tok-t-*
tūb-	'to blow'	*tūp-t-*
uz-	'to gore'	*us-t-*
geh-	'to close'	*ges-t-*
ēnd-	'to dance'	*ēn-t-/ēnd-t-/ēnt-t-*
naṭ-	'to sever'	*naṭ-t-/naṛ-t-*
kāḍ-	'to burn'	*kāṭ-t-/kāṛ-t-*

anḍ-	'to stick'	*anḍ-t-/ã ṛ-t-*
uṇ-	'to drink'	*u-ṭ-*
hōṇ-	'to enter'	*hō-ṭ-*
ec-	'to shoot'	*ec-c-*
vec-	'to say'	*vec-c-*
uj-	'to suck'	*uc-c-*
kanj-	'to be dirty'	*kan-c-*
vanj-	'to cook'	*vanc-c-*
in-	'to say'	*i-c-*
tin-	'to eat'	*ti-c-/ci-c-*
pun-	'to know'	*pu-c-*
man-	'to be'	*ma-c-*
ven-	'to hear'	*ve-c-*
hal-	'to go'	*ha-c-*

huṛ- 'to see'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*huṛ-t-aṅ*	(excl.)	*huṛ-t-ap*
		(incl.)	*huṛ-t-as*
2.	*huṛ-t-ay*		*huṛ-t-ader*
3m.	*huṛ-t-an*	m.	*huṛ-t-ar*
non-m.	*huṛ-t-aṭ*	f.	*huṛ-t-ik*
		n.	*huṛ-t-iṅ*

(ii) PERFECT TENSE: It is formed primarily by the addition of *-na* to the past tense, but in certain persons namely in the first person singular and in the third person plural feminine and neuter, the terminations are repeated after *-na* (the final vowel is lost in the case). In various areas, the process of repeating the personal endings after *-na* is found in

other forms also, e.g. *tus–t–an–n–an* 'he has put on, is wearing', *vā-t-ap-n-ap* 'we have come'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*huṛ–t–aṅ–n–aṅ*	(excl.)	*huṛ–t–ap–na*
		(incl.)	*huṛ-t-ah-na*
2.	*huṛ–t–ay-na*		*huṛ–t–ader–na*
3m.	*huṛ–t-an–na*	m.	*huṛ–t-ar–na*
non–m.	*huṛ–t–at-na*	f.	*huṛ-t-ik–n–ik*
		n.	*huṛ-t-iṅ–n–iṅ*

A less common alternative form of the perfect tense involves the elimination of the original personal endings which preceded *–na*, i. e. in this type the personal endings appear only after *-na.*

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*huṛ-t–an-aṅ*	(excl.)	*huṛ–t an–ap*
		(incl.)	*huṛ-t–an–as*
2.	*huṛ–an–ay*		*huṛ–t–an-ader*
3m.	*huṛ-t-an–an*	m.	*huṛ-t–an–ar*
non–m.	*huṛ-t-an-at*	f.	*huṛ–t–in–ik*
		n.	*huṛ-t–in-iṅ*

"The perfect tense expresses both the completion of an action and also the state resulting from its completion; e. g. *kuccapna* 'we have sat down', but also (and more commonly) 'we are sitting down' " (so Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970: 67)

(iii) Imperfect Tense: It is formed by adding to the past adverbial participle, the past tense forms of *man–* 'to be'.

cōrku mājgato ṛugji macar.

'Thieves were hiding in the darkness.'

āneṅ āge kaliṅ uṇji macaṅ, egoṅ pistaṅ.

'I formely used to drink liquor, now I have given it up.'

(iv) PAST ADVERB: The suffix /*-si* ∞ *-ci* ∞ *-hi* ∞ *-zi* ∞ *-ji* ∞ *-is*/. The allomorphs are in the main morphologically conditioned; *-is* occurs after intensive-frequentative and motion bases (in the eastern dialect of Pengo *z* merges with *j*).

as-si 'having seized' (: *ah-*)
pis-si 'having left' (: *pih-*)
kūk-ci, *kūk-si*, *kūk-hi* 'having called'
ēn-ci 'having begged'
nil-ci 'having stood'
kuc-hi 'having sat'
kā-hi 'having watched'
ta-hi 'having brought'
ō-zi 'having taken away'
ki-zi 'having done'
vā-zi 'having come'
kraz-zi 'having played'
pāg-ji 'having killed'
uṇ-ji 'having drunk'
koy-ji 'having cut'
nāg-ji 'having licked' (: *nāk-*)
ed-ji, *ed-di* 'having taken up (child)' (: *et-*)

tin-ji 'having eaten'
huṛ-ji 'having seen'
hī-b-is 'having given (to various recipients) (: *hī-ba-*)
pes-k-is 'having picked up (many things)' (: *pes-ka*)
kā-k-is 'having gone to watch' (*kā-ka-*)
ṛū-g-is 'having gone to plough' (*ṛū-ga-*)

An alternative suffix *-ha* appears in a few cases, e.g. *ta-ha vā-* 'to come bringing'.

(v) PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding the adjective marker *-i* to the past stem of a verb.

ēnd-t-i 'that danced'
vec-c-i 'that spoke/was spoken'
niṅ-t-i 'that rose'

(vi) PARTICIPIAL NOUN (PAST): It is formed by adding *-aka* to the past stem. This form serves as neuter singular and it is also used as a verbal noun. The usual personal suffixes are added to this in other persons and numbers.

nā temul hen-t-aka 'My hair is grey.'
ōḍa kṛō-t-aka 'The goat is fat.'

(vii) CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE: The conditional is formed by adding *-is* to the past stem.

vā-t-is 'if (one) comes'
ki-t-is 'if (one) does'
u-ṭ-is 'if (one) drinks'

The particles *sena*, *hena*, *hara*, *hari* are optionally added to the forms of the conditional.

u-ṭ-is sena punaṅ 'If I drink (it), I shall know.'

The conditional expresses also the temporal sense; in this case another suffix *-iṅ* may optionally be added to it (*s* becomes *h* before *-iṅ*).

ēneṅ vā-t-ih-iṅ himṇatiṅ tahi vā.
'when you come, bring your child,'

The concessive sense is expressed by adding the participle *pa* 'also' to the conditional.

ṭṛak-t-is pa il bitre hōṇgis lay kuca tinaka.
'Even though they beat it, it went into the house and ate rice and vegetables.'

2.13. **Kui**

(i) FINITE FORMS: The past tense morpheme is /*-it-* ∞ *-t-* ∞ *-d*/. *-it-* occurs after the verbs of Winfield's first conjugation; *-d-* occurs after nine verbs with a short vowel plus *g* and *-t-* occurs elsewhere. The following changes takes place when *-t-* occurs after verbs ending in consonants:

1. $\begin{bmatrix} \dot{n} \\ ṇ \end{bmatrix} + \underline{t} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} ṭ \\ s \end{bmatrix}$
2. $\bar{V}l + t \rightarrow ṭ$
3. $\check{V}l_1 + t \rightarrow$ *-s-*
4. $\tilde{V}l_2 + t \rightarrow ṭ$ (optional)

-it-

1.	*āj-*	'to cool down'	*āj-it-*
	ḍūmb-	'to shrink'	*ḍūmb-it-*
	grāmb-	'to learn'	*grāmb-it-*
	iṭ-	'to place, put'	*iṭ-it-*

	kah–	'to play'	*kah-it-*
	kāg–	'to warm'	*kāg–it–*
	kūr–	'to fall down'	*kūr-it-*
	tāk–	'to walk'	*tāk–it–*
	tōnj–	'to appear'	*tōnj-it–*
	vrīs–	'to write'	*vrīs-it-*

-d-

2.	*ag-*	'to be fitting'	*ag–d–*
	geg–	'to associate with'	*geg–d-*
	ig–	'to caste down'	*ig–d–*
	mag–	'to grovel'	*mag–d-*
	nog-	'to wash'	*nog–d-*
	peg–	'to collect'	*peg–d-*
	sug–	'to roast'	*sug–d–*
	tug–	'to tie a band'	*tug-d-*
	ug–	'to collide with'	*ug–d–*

-t-

3.	*ār-*	'to call'	*ār–t–*
	dah–	'to seek'	*dah-t–*
	ḍō–	'to lie down'	*ḍō-t–*
	ēr–	'to kindle'	*ēr-t–*
	goṛ-	'to hit the mark'	*goṛ-t-|go-ṭ-*
	grāp–	'to teach'	*grāp-t–*
	kul–	'to comb the hair'	*kul-t-|ku-ṭ-*
	mruk–	'to kill'	*mruk–t–*
	nal–	'to bind the hair into a knot'	*nal–t-|na-ṭ-*
	nol–	'to ladle out'	*nol–t–|no–ṭ–*
	pol–	'to peel'	*pol–t–|po–ṭ–*

pros–	'to light'	*pros–t–*
sōṛ–	'to enter'	*sōṛ-t-*
kō–	'to reap'	*kō-t–*
mī–	'to bathe'	*mī-t–*
vā–	'to come'	*vā–t–*
nō-	'to pain'	*nō-t–*
ēṇ–	'to receive in the hand'	*ē-ṭ–*
uṇ–	'to drink'	*u-ṭ-*
pāṇ-	'to obtain'	*pā–ṭ–*
seṛn	'to be ripe'	*seṛ-ṭ-*
in–	'to say'	*i-s–*
pun–	'to know'	*pu–s-*
tin–	'to eat'	*ti–s–*
ven–	'to hear, ask'	*ve–s–*
man–	'to be'	*ma–s–*
mūl–	'to urinate'	*mū-ṭ–*
nīl-	'to be standing'	*nī-ṭ–*
sōl-	'to enter'	*sō–ṭ-*
vāl-	'to peel'	*vā–ṭ–*
jel-	'to pull'	*je–s–*
vel	'to pull'	*ve–s–*
sal–	'to go'	*sa–s-*

kō 'to reap'

1.	*kō–te*	(excl.)	*kō-t-amu*
		(incl.)	*kō–t–asu*
2.	*kō–t–i*		*kō-t-eru*
3m.	*kō–t–enju*		*kō-t–eru*
non-m.	*kō–t–e*		*kō-t–u*

(ii) COMPOUND TENSES: The imperfect tense is formed by adding to the present adverb of a verb the past tense forms of *man–* 'to be'

ānu tākai mase. 'I was walking.'

The perfect tense is formed by adding to the past adverb of a verb the future tense forms *man–* 'to be'.

ānu tāka mai. 'I have walked.'

The pluperfect tense is formed by adding to the past adverb of a verb the past tense forms of *man–* 'to be'.

ānu tāka mase. 'I have walking.'

(iii) PAST ADVERB: It is formed by adding to the verb base the suffix */-a ∞ –sa-∞ -ja/;* the allomorph *–sa* occurs afrer verbs of the second conjugation (other than those ending in *h*), *–ja* occurs after verbs of the fourth conjugation and three verbs of third conjugation ending in *ā;* the allomorph *–a* occurs after verbs of the first and the third conjugations (with the exception of three). It must be noted here that this forms ends in the vowel *a* only when it is followed by the auxiliary verb *man–* 'to be' in the compound tenses and another particle *nangaṭi* 'formerly' (with the variants *nanga, naika, naiṭi, nai* and *na*); otherwise it ends in *i* (see W. W. Winfield 1928: 130-132; he calls it "perfect verbal participle") and in this shape closely resembles the corresponding suffixes in the other Central Dravidian languages.

āj-a/āj-i 'having cooled down'
ēnd-a 'having danced'
grāmb-a 'having learnt'

iṭ-a 'having put'
kut-a 'having pricked'
ah-a 'having held'
ār-sa 'having called'
ḍā-sa 'having called'
ḍā-sa 'having lyed in wait for'
ḍēs-sa 'having built'
kār-sa 'having dug'
mīs-sa 'having caused to bathe'
tōs-sa 'having shown'
ā-ja 'having become'
vā-ja 'having come'
sī-a 'having given'
sā-ja 'having died'
in-ja 'having said'
man-ja 'having remained'
sa-ja 'having gone'
tin-ja 'having eaten'
sōl-ja 'having entered'

(iv) Past Adjective: It is formed by adding the adjective marker *-i* to the past tense stem of a verb.

munj-it-i 'that immersed'
pū-t-i 'that blossomed'
peg-d-i 'that collected'
nī-ṭ-i 'that stood'
ti-s-i 'that ate/eaten'
sō-ṭ-i 'that entered'

(v) CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE: The conditional suffix *-eka* is added to the past stem of a verb (it has a variant *-aka* after the past negative stem.

tāk-it-eka 'if (subject) walk(s)'

The concessive is formed by adding the "emphatic particle" *-ve* to the conditional.

sah-t-ekave 'even though (subject) beat(s)'

2.14. Kuvi

(i) FINITE FORMS: The past suffix is *-it-* after verbs of the 1st conjugation, and *-h-* after verbs of the fifth conjugation and *-t-* elsewhere; in the special past tense forms, it is *-at-* after verbs of all conjugations. When *-t-* occurs after verbs ending in *n*, *ṇ* or *l* the following changes take place:

$$n/l + t \rightarrow cc$$
$$ṇ + t \rightarrow ṭ$$

ajj- 'to fear'	*ajj-it-*
pāy- 'to beat'	*pāy-it-*
kalp- 'to mix'	*kalp-it-*
genj- 'to be torn'	*genj-it-*
ā- 'to be'	*ā-t-*
ṛū- 'to plough'	*ṛū-t-*
vā- 'to come'	*vā-t-*
tōh- 'to show'	*tōs-t-*
ōh- 'to break'	*ōs-t-*
kṛoh- 'to winnow'	*kṛos-t-*
tih- 'to feed'	*tis-t-*
ve- 'to beat'	*ve-t-*

kak-	'to laugh'	*kak-h-*
kot-	'to hoe'	*kot-h-*
ḍap-	'to break'	*ḍap-h-*
hiṇ-	'to shave'	*hiṇ-h-*
ur-	'to butt, gore'	*ur-h-*
per-	'to pick up'	*per-h-*
ven-	'to hear'	*ve-cc-*
pun-	'to know'	*pu-cc-*
tin-	'to eat'	*ti-cc-*

hī- 'to give'

(a) General

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*hī-t-eʔẽ*	*hī-t-o(mi)*
2.	*hī-t-i*	*hī-t-eri*
3m.	*hī-t-esi*	*hī-t-eri*
non-m.	*hī-t-e*	*hī-t-u*

(b) Special

1.	*hīy-at-eʔẽ*	*hīy-at-omi*
2.	*hīy-at-i*	*hīy-at-eri*
3m.	*hīy-at-esi*	*hīy-at-eri*
non-m.	*hīy-at-e*	*hīy-at-u*

ven- 'to hear'

(a) General

1.	*ve-cc-eʔẽ*	*ve-cc-o(mi)*
2.	*ve-cc-i*	*ve-cc-eri*
3m.	*ve-cc-esi*	*ve-cc-eri*
nan-m.	*ve-cc-e*	*ve-cc-u*

(b) Special

1.	*ven-j-at-ʔẽ*	*ven-j-at-omi*
2.	*ven-j-at-i*	*ven-j-at-eri*
3m.	*ven-j-at-esi*	*vem-j-at-eri*
non-m.	*ven-j-at-e*	*ven-j-at-u*

(ii) Past Adverb : It is formed by adding to the base the suffix / *-a* ~ *-ha* ~ *-sa* ∞ *-ca* ~ *-ja*/;*-ja* occurs after verbs ending in *n*, *-ca* after verbs of class four, *-sa* after verbs ending in *h* (*h* → *s*/*-sa*), *-ha* after verbs ending in a vowel (of the second class) and those of the fifth class and *-a* occurs after verbs of the first class.

pāy-a 'having beaten'
hī-ha 'having given'
ḍik-ha 'having broken'
tōs-sa 'having shown'
ve-ca 'having beaten'
ven-ja 'having heard'

Excepting before the auxiliary verbs *hal-* 'to go', *tuh-* 'to throw' and *hī* 'to give', the past adverb is generally extended by *-ha* in the Sunkarameṭṭa dialect (According to Fitzerald the extension is *naha*, e.g. *nik-ha naha* 'having aroused').

re-ja-ha 'having pulled'
in-ja-ha 'having said'
mṇok-ha ha 'having drawn (water)'

"Schulze has the same forms for the present, but for the past he gives forms in which *-waha* is added to the simple form of the present participle: *zōliwaha* 'having talked',

'having called' *kēpiwaha* 'having done'. "(so Burrow and Bhattacharya 1963 : 266)

(iii) Past Adjective: It is formed by adding to the past stem (both general and special) the adjective marker *-i.*

pāy-it-i 'that beat/beaten' (general)
pāy-at-i 'that beat/beaten' (special)

(iv) Conditional: It is formed by adding to the past stem (both general and special) the conditional marker *-ihe*

(*nānu*) *pāy-it-ihi* 'if (I) beat (him)'
(*nānu*) *pāy-at-ihi* 'if (I) beat (you)'
(*nānu*) *tōs-t-ihe* 'if (I) beat (him)'
(*nānu*) *tōs-t-at-ihe* 'if (I) show' (you)'

2 15. **Kolami**

(i) Finite Forms: The past tense morpheme is /*-t-* ∞*-d-*/. *-d-*occurs only after six verbs, three ending in *n*, two in *r* and one ending in *l* ; *-t-* occurs elsewhere.

After a few verbs ending in *ḍ* or *r*, *ḍ/r+t→ṭṭ/ṭ;* after a few verbs in *l*, *l+t→t;* verbs ending in *g* change it to *k* before *-t-;* monosyllabic stems ending in a two consonant cluster (other than the homorganic nasal plus stop) have alternants with a vowel of the same quality as that of the monosyllabic stem between the two consonants before *-t-* (this alternation is absent in the Adilabad dialect).

-t-

1. *mī* 'to graze' - *mīt-*
pāḍ 'to sing' *pāḍ-t-*

tik 'to die'	*tik-t-*
ōl 'to see'	*ōl-t-*
en- 'to say'	*en-t-*
ninḍ- 'to be come full'	*ninḍ-t-*
kāp- 'to boil'	*kāp-t-*
ar- 'to weep'	*ar-t-*
sum- 'to catch, buy'	*sum-t-*
kos- 'to carry away'	*kos-t-*
put- 'to pluck'	*put-t-*
ōṭ 'to break'	*ōt-t-*
vāy- 'to sow'	*vāy-t-*
kēd- 'to winnow'	*kēt-t-*
ud- 'to sit'	*ut-t-*
ḍāṅg- 'to hide (intr.)	*dāṅk-t-*
raz- 'to say, speak'	*ras-t-*
ēnd- 'to dance'	*ēn-t-*
iḍḍ- to tell'	*iṭ-t-*
muḍ- 'to talk'	*muṭ-ṭ-*
paḍ- (Wound) is got'	*paṭ-ṭ-*
suḍ 'to cook'	*suṭ-ṭ-*
īḍ- 'to put'	*iṭ-t-*
kūl- '(water) to flow out'	*kū-ṭ-*
sūl- 'to get up'	*sū-ṭ-*
tūl 'to run'	*tū-ṭ-*
unbul- 'to urinate'	*umbu-ṭ-*
tīr- 'o be finished'	*tī-ṭ-*
ūr- 'to wear (sari, dhoti)'	*ū-ṭ-*
tigur- 'to thunder'	*tigu-ṭ-*
ayk- 'to sweep'	*ayak-t-*
irk- 'to tear'	*irik-t-*

kerk–	'to shave'	*kerek–t–*
alṅg–	'to kill'	*alaṅk-t–*
var–	'to came'	*vat-t–*
kor–	'to bring'	*kot-t–*

-d-

2.	*tin–*	'to eat'	*tin-d–*
	un–	'to drink'	*un–d–*
	gōl	'to beat'	*goḍ-ḍ-*
	an-	'to be in a place'	*an-ḍ-*
	er–	'to be come'	*ed-d–*
	ser-	'to go'	*sed-d–*

sī– (sī–t–) 'to give'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*sī–t-an*	*sī-t–am*
2.	*si–t-iv*	*si–t-ir*
3m.	*sī-t-en–si–t–end*	*si-t–er*
non–m.	*sī–t-in–si-t–un*	*si–t–ev*

(ii) Past Adverb : It is formed by adding the suffix *-t–* optionally followed by the subordinating suffix *–na* in the Wardha dialect. In the adilabad dialect, the suffix is *–ūt* (except in the irregular verbs where it is *-t-*). In the Wardha dialect, the irregular morphophonemic replacements that occur in the past stem formation are absent in this. The suffix of the Adilabad dialect may be the original; the original intervening vowel might have prevented the changes that are expected in the Wardha dialect.

sī–t(na) (A) *siyy-ūt* 'having given'
kūk-t(na) (A) *kūg–ūt* 'having called'

tūl–t(na) (A) *tūl–ūt* 'having run'
vīr–t(na) (A) *vīr–ūt* 'having sold'
alṇk–t(na) (A) *alṇ–ūt* 'having killed'
sūl–t, sūṭ (A) *sull–ūt* 'having got up'

The past completive is formed by adding the past tense of *an–* 'to be' to the past adverb of a verb.

ān utt aṇḍ an 'I was sitting'

(iii) PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding the adjective marker *-a* to the past stem.

tin–d–a 'that ate, eaten'
ū-t–a 'that wore, worn'
ār–t–a 'that be came dry'
vat-t–a 'that came'

(iv) CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE: The conditional in the Adilabad dialect is formed by adding *–ē* to the past stem of a verb.

kak-t–ē 'if (subject) does'
vat–tē 'if (subject) comes'
vēl-t–ē if (subject) asks'
tin–d–ē 'if (subject) eats'
tū–ṭ–ē 'if (subject) runs'
muṭ–ṭ–ē 'if (subject) speaks'

The concessive meaning is expressed in the Wardha dialect by adding the penticle *tiri* to a finite form.

tin–d–ān tiri 'Altough I had eaten'

2.16. Naiki (Ch.)

(i) FINITE FORMS : The past tense suffix is /*-t-* ∞ *-d-*/; the distribution of these is fairly similar to those to Kolami.

ūnd-	'to blow'	*ūn-t-*
ēnd-	'to dance'	*ēn-t-*
ud-	'to sit'	*ut-t-*
oṛ-	'to wash'	*oṭ-ṭ-*
suṛ-	'to fry'	*suṭ-ṭ-*
iṛ-	'to put'	*iṭ-ṭ-*
tin-	'to eat'	*tin-d-*
ser-	'to go'	*sed-d-*
er-	'to be'	*ed-d-*
en-	'to say'	*en-ḍ-*
un-	'to drink'	*un-ḍ-*
ven-	'to hear'	*ven-ḍ-*

kak- (*kak-t-*) 'to do'

1.	*kak-t-an*	*kak-t-am*
2.	*kak-t-i*	*kak-t-ir*
3. m.	*kak-t-en*	*kak-t-er*
non-m.	*kak-t-un*	*kak-t-e*

(ii) PAST ADVERB : The suffix is *-tun*.

indup-tun 'having filled'
pak-tun 'having beaten'
adum-tun 'having sqeezed'
mus-tun 'having eaten'
tin-dun 'having eaten'
un-ḍun 'having drunk'

(iii) PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding the adjective marker *-a* to the past stem

arup-t-a 'that cut'

(iv) CONDITIONAL: The conditional sense is expressed by adding the penticle *-te/-ta* to the past or future finite verbal forms.

si-t-an te 'when I gave'
siy-ati te 'if you (sg.) give'

2.17. Parji

(i) FINITE FORMS: The preset tense morpheme in Parji is */-t- ∞ -ñ- ∞ -n- ∞ -d- ∞ -∅-/*. In certain verbs ending in *ī*, *r* or *y* the allomorph *-ñ-* occurs; base final *r* and *y* are dropped and *ī* is shortened before it. *-n-* occurs after a few verbs. Three verbs ending in *n*, take the allomorph *-d-* and after one of them it changes to *-ḍ-*. The allomorph *-t-* occurs after verbs with stems alternating in *p/t*. The zero allomorph occurs in many verbs. Note the following changes.

1. $\begin{bmatrix} \underset{\cdot}{d} \\ d \end{bmatrix} + t \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underset{\cdot}{t}\underset{\cdot}{t} \\ \underset{\cdot}{t}\underset{\cdot}{t} \end{bmatrix}$

2. $n + t \rightarrow tt$

-t-

1. *payp-/payt-* 'to divide' *pay-t-*
ayp-/ayt- 'to sweep' *ay-t-*
pēp-/pēt- 'to come out' *pē-t-*
codp-/codt- 'to send' *cod-t-*
nilp-/nilt- 'to stand' *nil-t-*

	pūp-/pūt- 'to flower'	*pū-t-*
	vedp-/vedt- 'to fry'	*ved-t-*
	vēp-/vēt- 'to be hot'	*vē-t-*
	iḍ- 'to put'	*iṭ-ṭ-*
	kaḍ- 'to cast'	*ka-t-t-*
	noḍ- 'to wash'	*noṭ-ṭ-*
	paḍ- 'to fall'	*paṭ-ṭ-*
	maḍ- 'to lie down, sleep'	*maṭ-ṭ-*
	piḍ- 'to burst'	*piṭ-ṭ-*
	miḍ- 'to cease'	*miṭ-ṭ-*
	kud- 'to cut'	*kut-t-*
	tud- 'to burn'	*tut-t-*
	ped- 'to pick'	*pet-t-*
	ted- '(heat of sun) to be fierce'	*tet-t-*
	ned- 'to smell'	*net-t-*
	ven- 'to hear'	*vet-t-*
	pun- 'to know'	*put-t-*
	men- 'to be'	*met-t-*
	en- 'to say'	*et-t-*
	-ñ-	
2.	*ver-* 'to come'	*ve-ñ-*
	er- 'to be, become'	*e-ñ-*
	uy- 'to take'	*u-ñ-*
	cay- 'to die'	*ca-ñ-*
	koy- 'to reap'	*ko-ñ-*
	kay- 'to defecate'	*ka-ñ-*
	noy- 'to be painful'	*no-ñ-*
	mī- 'to bathe'	*mi-ñ-*
	cī- 'to give'	*ci-ñ-*
	pī- 'to live'	*pi-ñ-*

-*n*-

3.	*aṛ*-	'to weep'	*aṛ-u-*
	endr-(ender-)	'to bring'	*ender-n-*
	tūl-er-	'to run'	*tūl-er-n-*

-*d*-

4.	*cen-*	'to go'	*cen-d-*
	tin-	'to eat'	*tin-d-*
	un-	'to drink'	*uṇ-ḍ-*

-∅-

5.	*cūṛ*	'to see'	*cūṛ-∅-*
	erk-	'to cut down bushes'	*erk-∅-*
	kac-	'to bite'	*kac-∅-*

cūr- 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cūṛ-∅-en*	*cūṛ-∅-om*
2.	*cūṛ-∅-ot*	*cūṛ-∅-or*
3m.	*cūṛ-∅-ed*	*cūṛ-∅-er*
non-m.	*cūṛ-ot-o*	*cūṛ-∅-ov*

(S.) *cūṛ-at-a*

Another variety which is called the "extended form of the preterite" by Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953 : 54) is much commoner in the south than in the north. It is found only in the case of those verbs that add no overt suffix in the formation of the past. Actually the 3rd, non-m. form of the past of those verbs that do not have on overt past suffix originally belongs to the extended form of the preterite. The past suffix in the extended form is *-et-*, *-ot-* in the

North-West dialect, the selection of the vowel depending on the vowel of the personal suffix and *-at-* in the Southern dialect. There is no difference of meaning between the two forms of the past tense.

	North-West		South	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cūṛ-et-en*	*cūṛ-ot-om*	*cūṭ-at-en*	*cūṛ-at-om*
2.	*cūṛ-ot-ot*	*cūṛ-at-or*	*cūṛ-at-ot*	*cūṛ-at-or*
3m.	*cūṛ-et-ed*	*cūṛ-et-ed*	*cūṛ-at-ed*	*cūṛ-at-er*
non-m.	*cūṛ-ot-o*	*cūṛ-ot-ov*	*cūṛ-at-a*	*cūṛ-at-ov*

• (ii) Compound Tenses: Two of these are used commonly:

(1) A combination of the past tense forms of a verb with the present tense (future in form) of the verb *men-* 'to be'. This indicates present continuous.

unded mẽdad. 'He is sitting.'

ḍū meramti pakoto mẽda.

'A tiger is lurking in a jungle.'

(2) A combination of the past adverb of a verb with the past tense forms of *men-* 'to be'. This indicates past perfect.

ceni mettom 'We had gone'
ole veri mettot 'you (sg.) had come home'

(iii) Past Adverb: The suffix is /*-i*·~*-ci*(~*-c*)/.

The suffix *-ci* occurs in monosyllabic verbs that have alternate stems in *p*/*t* (these will be dropped before *-ci*); its

variant *–c* occurs after after disyllabic verbs that have alternate items in *p/t* (mostly causatives in *–ip/–it* or borrowed verbs in *ayp–/ayt–.*). The suffix *–i* occurs in all the remaining verbs.

ver–i 'having come'
cen–i 'having gone'
tūl–i 'having run'
cul–ci 'having risen' (: *culp–/cult–*)
nil–ci 'having stood' (: *nilp–/nilt–*)
pay–ci 'having divided' (: *payp–/payt–*)
kā–ci 'having waited' (: *kāp–/kāt–*)
noḍ i 'having washed' (: *noḍ–*)
tit–i–c 'having put' (: *tit–ip–/it–*)
maṇḍa–c 'having put' (: *manḍayp–/–t–*)
tipa–c 'having poured' (: *tipayp–/t–*)

The past adverb is more commonly followed by one of the three clitics, *kuli*, *kili* and *kuri* in the North-Western dialect and by *kali* in the Southern dialect.

mēven cūṛi kili ḍū culta 'Having seen the goat the tiger arose'

panḍi kur maṭṭed 'Having become tired, he lay down'

(For the verbal adjective see § 3.17)

(iv) Conditional: There are three adverbial suffixes which are added to verbs and commonly used in temporal and conditional classes, namely (1) *oḍ* (often enlarged by the addition of *–el* or rarely by *–ul*, temporal and conditional) (2) *-ek* (temporal) and (3) *–em* (temporal),

(1) *-oḍ -oḍel*

pōkal ãdoḍ cīkoḍ erra 'When the day draws to a close, it will become dark.

ili tōndoḍ tappar, If a bear appears, let us kill.'

ān in pāṭa venoḍel cenana min 'If it rains, we will get wet'

(2) *-ek*

ān vāni verek pōden. I got wet when the rain came'

ole verek gaḍin pokra. 'On going home, she will speak to the herdsman'

(3) *-em*

netta pāp menem cūṛaya, candoto eroḍ bommel nãḍomov. The dog, when it is a baby, does not see; when it grows, its eyes, open'

2.18. **Gadaba Ollari**

(i) FINITE FORMS: In one class of verbs that use the base itself as the past stem, the vowel *e* is the 'union vowel' between the base and the personal suffix; in the second class of verbs which have past stem form with one of the suffixes *-t-* (variants *-ṭ-*, and *-ḍ-*), and *n*, the 'union vowel' is *o* except in the 3rd non-masc. sg. or pl.

-t-

I.	*pēp-/pēt-* 'to appear'	*pē-t-*
	un- 'to drink'	*un-ḍ-*
	tin- 'to eat'	*tin-ḍ-*
	sen- 'to go'	*sen-ḍ*

	man- 'to be'	*ma-ṭ-*
	ven- 'to hear'	*ve-ṭ-*

-n-

2.	*var-* 'to come'	*va-n-*
	sī- 'to give'	*sī-n-*
	uy- 'to take'	*u-n-*
	en- 'to be'	*e-n-*
	key- 'to do'	*ke-n-*
	koy- 'to reap'	*ko-n-*
	say- 'to die'	*sa-n-*

var- (*va-n-*) 'to come'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*va-n-on*	*va-n-om*
2.	*va-n-oṭ*	*va-n-or*
3m.	*va-n-onḍ*	*va-n-or*
non-m.	*va-n-e*	*va-n-ev*

(ii) COMPOUND TENSES : The past perfect is formed by adding the past tense forms of *man-* 'to be' to the past adverb of a verb, e.g.

sen-zi ma-ṭ-on 'I had gone'
tōṭ-si ma-ṭ-oṭ 'you (sg.) had shown'

(iii) PAST ADVERB: The suffix has two variants *-i* and *-si* (morphologically conditioned); *s* becomes *z* after *n*. The past adverb is optionally followed by *keri* or *kerin*.

sūṛi- 'having seen'
pat-i 'having seized'
var-i 'having come'

kov–i 'having reaped'
uṇḍ–i 'having sat'
kar-st 'having crossed'
sar–si 'having drived'
un–zi 'having drunk'
tin-za 'having eaten'

(For the verbal adjective see § 3.18).

(iv) CONDITIONAL: The suffix *-koṛen* (with a variant *-goṛen* often shortened to *-goṛ*) is added to the base.

sī-koṛen 'if (subject) gives'
mey-koṛen 'if (subject) forgets'
sen-goṛen 'if (subject) goes'
un-goṛen 'if (subject) drinks'
uṇḍ-goṛ 'if (subject) sits'

2.19. **Kurux**

(i) FINITE FORMS: The allomorphs of the past suffix may be tabulated as follows (see D. N. Shankara Bhat, 'Kudux Indicatives').

Group	Verb bases	Before suffixes of 1st & 2nd person	Before suffixes 3rd person
Group I (ending in ʔ)	(C) Vʔ–	*ck*	*c∼cc*
	(C) VCʔ-	a) *ck*	*c*
		b) *k*	Ø
	(C) V̄Cʔ–	a) *k*	Ø
	(C) VCCʔ-	b) *c±k*	*c±Ø*
		c±k	*c±Ø*
Group II (not ending in ʔ)	(C)VC-	a) *k*	Ø
		b) *jk*	*j*
		c) *ck*	*c*
	(C)V̄C–	*k*	Ø
	(C)VCC–	*k*	Ø

Shankara Bhat divides all verbs in Kuḍux into two groups: the first group consists of verbs that end in a glottal stop, e.g. *baʔ*– 'to say' *pedxʔ*– 'to squeeze' etc. and the second those that do not end in a glottal stop, e.g. *on*– 'to drink' *olx*– 'to write'. The glottal stop occurring after a consonant is dropped before a suffix beginning with a consonant.

(i) Bases of the type (C)Vʔ- drop the glottal stop and lengthen the vowel before the past suffix.

baʔ–	'to say'	*bā–ck–an*	'I said'
		bā–c–as	'he said'

However the vowel is not lengthened in the following bases: *kheʔ–/ke*– 'to die', *ciʔ*– 'to give'; *biʔ*– 'to be cooked', and *hoʔ*– 'to take' e.g. *ho–ck–an* 'I took', *ho–cc–as* 'he took'.

(ii) In a few bases of the type (C)VCʔ, the past tense allomorph ii *–k–* before suffixes of 1st and 2nd persons and –∅- before those of the 3rd person.

esʔ-	'to break'	*es–k–an*	'I broke.'
		ess-∅-as	'He broke.'
piṭʔ-	'to kill'	*piṭ–k–an*	'I killed'
		piṭṭ–∅–a	'it killed'

(iii) After bases of group II (those not ending in a ʔ), the past tense suffix is /*–k–* ∞ *–∅–*/; *k–* occurs before the suffixes of 1st and 2nd persons and –∅- before those of the 3rd person. In three verbs ending in *n*, i.e. *man* 'to become', *nan*– to do' and *men* 'to hear, ask' the past suffix is /*–jk–*∞ *–j–*/ and after the base *nal*– to dance' it is /*–ck–*∞ *–c–*/; the

allomorphs *-jk-*, and *-ck-* occurs before the suffixes and *-j-* and *-c-* occurs before those of 3rd person.

(iv) Before the past tense suffix, bases of group II show the following morphophonemic variations.

(a) The vowels *e, o* and *a* of bases of the type (C)VCC are replaced by *i, u* and *ə* respectively.

erc-	'to search'	*irc-k-an*	'I searched'
olx-	'to write'	*ulx-k-an-*	'I wrote'
alx-	'to laugh'	*əlx-k-an*	'I laughed'

(b) The vowel *ē, ō* and *ā* of bases of the type (C)VC are replaced by *ī, ū* and *ə* respectively.

ēr-	'to see'	*īr-k-an*	'I saw'
ōg-	'to swim'	*ūg-k-an*	'swam'
ān-	'to ask'	*ēn-k-an*	'I asked'

(c) Final *y* and *s* of bases of the type (C)VC become *s* and *t* respectively.

uy-	'to plough'	*us-k-an*	'I ploughed'
xoy-	'to reap'	*xus-k-an*	'I reaped'
pes-	'to pick up'	*pet-k-an*	'I picked up'

(d) The base *-on* and *kuḍ-* become *oṇḍ-* and *kuṭ-* respectively.

on-	'to drink'	*oṇḍ-k-an*	'I drink'
kuḍ-	'to put in fire'	*kuṭ-k-an*	'I put in fire'

(e) Final consonant of bases of the type (C)VC get gemintated before a vowel.

xot–	'to chop'	*xott Ø–as*	'He chopped'
uv–	'to plough'	*uss–Ø-as*	'He ploughed'
nulx–	'to swallow'		

Sg.			Pl.
1.	*nulx–k–an*	(excl.)	*nulx–k–am*
		(incl.)	*uulx–k–at*
2m.	*nulx-k–ay*	}	*nulx–k-ar*
f.	*nulx–k–i*		
3m.	*nulx–Ø–as*		*nulx–Ø–ar*
non–m.	*nulx-Ø–a*		

ba?– 'to say'

1.	*bā–ck–an*	(excl.)	*bā–ck–am*
		(incl.)	*bā–ck–at*
2m.	*bā–ck–ay*	}	*bā–ck–ar*
f.	*bā–ck-i*		
3m.	*bā–c–as*		*bā–c–ar*
non–m.	*bā–c–a*		

Moreover, in some bases of the type (C) V̄C?– and (C) VCC?–, the language shows a further distinction of tense under past : immediate past contrasting with the general (non-immediate) past, The suffix *-k–* is used throughout for denoting past tense (with a zero allomorph before suffixes of the 3rd person) and the suffix *-ack-* (with allomorph *-ac-* before suffixes of the 3rd person) denotes the immediate past tense (it is also possible to segment *ac* in this as indicating immediateness).

tindʔ- 'to feed'

General Past: (*tind-k-an* 'I fed.')

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*tind-k-an*	(excl.)	*tind-k-am*
		(incl.)	*tind-k-at*
2m.	*tind-k-ay* }		*tind-k-ar*
f.	*tind-k-i* }		
3m.	*tind-Ø-as*		*tind-Ø-ar*
non-m.	*tind-Ø-*		

Immediate Past: (*tind-ack-an* 'I fed just now')

1.	*tind-ack-an*	(excl.)	*tind-ack-am*
		(incl.)	*tind-ack-at*
2m.	*tind-ack-ar* }		*tink-ack-ar*
f.	*tind-ack-i* }		
3m.	*tind-ac-a*		*tind-ac-ar*
non-m.	*tind-ac-a*		

Those of the bases of the type (C)VCʔ- which do not show the above two-fold distinction in past tense have a simple past form with the suffix *k-∞-Ø-/*. e.g.

ēdʔ- 'to show' *ēd-k-an* 'I showed'
ēdʔ-Ø-as 'He showed'

(ii) Past Adverb: The suffix is *-ār*; it may optionally be followed by *kī* or *darā*

esʔ-ar	(*kī-darā*)	'having broken'
ci-ār		'having given'
barʔ-ār		'having come'

(iii) Past Adjective: It is formed by adding *-kā* (past suffix *-k-* plus adjective suffix *-ā-*) to the base.

kundr-kā- 'that was born'

un-khkā 'that drank/drunk'

2.20. Malto

(i) Finite Forms: The past stem formatives are *c, y, ḍ, j, t, s,* and *q*.

coy-	'to rise'	*cō-c-*
kōḍ-	'to be down'	*koḍ-y-*
ōn-	'to drink'	*on-ḍ-*
men	'to be'	*men-j-*
a̱nh-	'to beat'	*a-t-*
qoy-	'to reap'	*qo-s-*
cog-	'to set loose'	*co-q-*
bar-	'to came'	*bar-c-*

The above suffixes are followed by *(e)k* before the 1st and the 2nd personal suffixes.

band- 'to draw'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*band-ek-en*	(excl.)	*band-ek-em*
		(incl.)	*band-ek-et*
2m.	*band-ek-e*		*band-ek-er*
f.	*band-ek-i*		
3m.	*band-∅-ah*		*band-∅-ar*
non-m.	*band-∅-ath*		

(ii) PAST ADVERB: It is formed by adding one of the suffixes *-i* and *-le*. According to Droese, the form with *-le* is "employed to denote customary or habitual action" while the other one ending in *-i* is employed "when the verb of the same sentence is one denoting motion".

ēc-i / *ēc-le*	'having bound'
cānc-le	'having filtered'
ṭunḍ-le	'having seen'
koḍ-i / *koḍ-le*	'having lyed down'
onḍ-i / *onḍ-le*	'having drùnk'

Sometimes the bare past tense itself may be used as a past adverb, e.g. *dar-ch* 'having caught' (past stem of *dary-*).

Droese gives two conjunctive participles with the past meaning one in *-ok* and another in *-ke* (with a variant *-ki* in 3rd fem. and neut). The forms with *ke*, *kį* are always followed by personal suffixes and are construed with the final verb in any tense, e.g.

baj- 'to strike'

1.	*baj-ke-n*	(excl.)	*baj-ke-m*
		(incl.)	*baj-ke-t*
2.	*baj-k-e*		*baj-ke-r*
f. & n.	*baj-k-i*		
3m.	*baj-ke-h*		*baj-ke-r*
non-m.	*baj-ki-th*		

maqerik jāgun tūrke ciya!

'*Having taken out* the food give to the children!'

āh ṭakan qendkeh eng bahak barcah.

'He, *having brought.* (with him) the money, came to me'

The participle in *-ko* uninflected and means

"after Verb *-ing*"

jaṛath posako maler teqalon cāgoti ekyar.

'*After* rain having *fallen*, the people went to sow.'

alen bajko āth qarg̣rath.

'On (somebody) having beaten the dog, it howled!'

(iii) Past Adjective: The suffix is *-pe*

band-pe 'that drew/drawn'
dary-pe 'that caught'

Another forms with the suffix *-eke* (added to the past stem) is inflected for number, gender and person.

2.21. Brahui

(i) Past Stem: The past, the imperfect, the pluperfect and the perfect are based on what may be termed the past stem. It is formed by adding to the base one of the suffixes *-ā-*, *-ē-*, *-k-* (with a variant *-g-* after *n*) and *-is-* (variants *-s-* and *-ss-*). The suffix *-ā-* is more productive and occurs in the largest number of verbs. The suffix *-ē-* occurs after verbs ending in *f* including the causals; after verbs

ending in *n* (these have variants ending in *r* before it) and after some other verbs. In verbs ending in *n* or *nn* it is lost before *-ss-*. In a few cases the suffix *-ā-* is in free variation with the others.

-ā-

1.	*bin-*	'to pick'	*bin-ā-*
	ill-	'to leave'	*ill-ā-*
	makh-	'to laugh'	*makh-ā-*
	tikh-	'to place'	*tikh-ā-*
	raseng-	'to arrive'	*raseng-ā-*

-ē-

2.	*tūlif-*	'to make to sit'	*tūlif-ē-*
	taf-	'to bind'	*taf-ē-*
	harf-	'to lift'	*harf-ē-*
	harrif-	'to ask'	*harrif-ē-*
	danh-	'to take away'	*dar-ē-*
	kann-	'to do'	*kar-ē-*
	pān-	'to say'	*pār-ē-*
	ton-	'to hold'	*tor-ē-*
	bis-	'to bake'	*bis-ē-*
	bīṛ-	'to milk'	*bīṛ-ē-*
			bīṛ-ā-
	das-	'to sow, to rain'	*das-ē-*
			das-ā-
	rēf-	'to cheat'	*rēf-ē-*
			rēf-ā-

-k- (~*-g-*)

3.	*khall*	'to strike'	*khal-k-*
	hall	'to seize'	*hal-k-*

	bin- 'to hear'	*bin-g-*
	kun- 'to eat'	*kun-g-*
	hīn- 'to lamb'	*hīn-g-*
	kah- 'to die'	*kas-k-*

-is- (∼*-ss-*)

4.	*ann-* 'to be'	*a-ss-*
	mann- 'to become'	*ma-ss-*
	bann- 'to come'	*ba-ss-*
	tin- 'to give'	*ti-ss-*
	bās- 'to become hot'	*bās-is-*
	bis- 'to ripen'	*bis-is-*
	bārr- 'to become dry'	*bar-is-*
	kharr- 'to sprout'	{ *kharr-is-* *kharr-ā-*
	khulī- 'to fear'	*khulī-s-* *khul-ā-*
	pir- 'to swell'	*pir-is-*
	pāl 'to become wet'	*pāl-is-*
	tūl- 'to sit'	*tū-s-*
	hat- 'to bring'	(*h*)*ē-s-*

(ii) THE PAST: It is formed by suffixing the present of the substantive verb *ann-* 'to be' to the past stem except in the 3rd sg. which remains the same as the past stem. After past stems ending in a vowel, initial vowel of the substantive verb is elided.

tikh- 'to place'		*kun-* 'to eat'	
Sg.		Sg.	
1. *tikh-ā* + *ṭ*	'I placed'	*kun-g* + *uṭ*	'I ate'
2. *tikh-ā* + *s*		*kun-g* + *us*	
3. *tikh-ā*		*kun-g*	

	Pl.	Pl.
1.	*tik̲h̲-ā + n*	*kun-g + un*
2.	*tik̲h̲-ā + re*	*kun-g + ure*
3.	*tik̲h̲-ā + r*	*kun-g + ur*

(iii) THE IMPERFECT: It is formed by the addition of *-a* to the past; however, in the 2 pl. form *-a* is not added. In the 3rd sg. form *-ka* is added (*-aka* after a past stem ending in a consonant).

	Sg.	Sg.
1.	*tik̲h̲-ā-ṭ-a*	*kunguṭ-a*
2.	*tik̲h̲ās-a*	*kungus-a*
3.	*tik̲h̲ā-ka*	*kung-aka*

	Pl.	Pl.
1.	*tik̲h̲ān-a*	*kungun-a*
2.	*tik̲h̲-ā-re*	*kungure*
3.	*tik̲h̲-ār-a*	*kungur-a*

ī tik̲h̲āṭa 'I was placing, I used to place, had I placed'

(iv) THE PLUPERFECT: It is formed from the past stem by suffixing the past of the substantive verb of which one *s* is dropped. In this also the initial vowel of the substantive verb is dropped after a past stem ending in vowel.

	Sg.	Sg.
1.	*tik̲h̲-ā + suṭ*	*kun-g + usuṭ*
2.	*tik̲h̲-ā + sus*	*kun-g + usus*
3.	*tik̲h̲-ā + sas*	*kun-g + asas*

	Pl.	Pl.
1.	*ti<u>kh</u>-a+sun*	*kun-g+usun*
2.	*ti<u>kh</u>-ā+sure*	*kun-g+usure*
3.	*ti<u>kh</u>-ā+sur*	*kun-g+usur*

(The actual imperfect forms of the substantive verb are: 1 sg. *assuṭa*, pl. *assuna*, 2 sg. *assusa*, pl. *assure*, 3 sg. *assaka*, pl. *assura*. The initial *a* changes to *u* after a past stem ending in a consonant because of "harmonic attraction" except the in 3 sg.)

ī tikhāsuṭ 'I had placed.'

(v) THE PERFECT: It is formed from the past stem by first adding a perfect formative *-un-* (*-<u>n</u>-* after a vowel) and then adding the present of the substantive verb.

	Sg.	Sg.
1.	*ti<u>kh</u>-ā-n+uṭ*	*kun-g-un+uṭ*
2.	*ti<u>kh</u>-ā-n+us*	*kun-g-un+us*
3.	*ti<u>kh</u>-ā-n+e*	*kun-g-uh+e*
	Pl.	Pl.
1.	*ti<u>kh</u>-ā-n+un*	*kun-g-un+un*
2.	*ti<u>kh</u>-ā-n+ure*	*kun-g-un+ure*
3.	*ti<u>kh</u>-ā-n+o*	*kun-g-un+o*

i ti<u>kh</u>ānuṭ 'I have placed.'

The past adverbial and adjectival participles are absent in this language.

COMPARATIVE STUDY

2.22. Reconstructed Suffixes

The above study shows that in the matter of the past tense formation each of the three major subgroups of. Dravidian has its own pecualiarities and special developments In spite of it, there is some resemblance between the systems of the South and the Central Dravidian groups; although the North Dravidian system has undoubtedly developed from the same original system from which the other two have developed, it has deviated, from it to a considerable extent. Moreover, the resemblance between the system of Kudux-Malto and that of Brahui is very less although these three languages constitute the North Dravidian subgroup. Between the South Dravidian and the Central Dravidian systems, the former has a larger number of morphologically conditioned allomorphs than the latter. Since evidence is lacking to show that the allomorphic complexities of the South Dravidian group is a later development in it, it is to be assumed that the South Dravidian system (with some exceptions, of course) fairly preserves the Proto-Dravidian system while the Central Dravidian system developed out of it through simplification. It must also be noted here that Kannaḍa and Tulu, although belonging to the South Dravidian group have considerably simplified their systems like the Central Dravidian languages.

It is necessary to reconstruct the following past suffixes to Proto-Dravidian: (1) **-t-* (with morphophonemic variants **-k-*, **-t-* and **-ṭ-*), (2) **-nt-*, (3) **-tt-*, (4) **-i-*, (5) **-cc-*, (6) **-kk-* and (7) **-n-*. The first four

of these are employed in the past stem formation in South Dravidian. It is to be noted that Kota-Toda employ the original past stem as the basis of the present tense and some other formations also in addition to the past tense. The development of these in the individual languages will be separately treated below.

2.23. *-t- (~*-k-~*-ṯ-~*-ṭ-)

This suffix mostly occurs with monosyllabic verbs containing a short vowel and ending in *y* and also after a very few disyllabic verb of the (C)VCV pattern. Only in the Tamil-Koḍagu group of languages is it kept distinct from the other two dental allomorphs. Examples are:

1.	Ta. *cey*	'to do'	*cey-t-*
	Ma. *cey*	"	*cey-t-*
	Ko. *gey-/key-*	"	*ge-c-/ke-c-*
	To. *kīy-*	"	*kī-s-*
	Koḍ. *key*	"	*kej-j-*
	Ka. *key/gey*	"	*key-d-/gey-d-* (1628)
2.	Ta. koy	'to cut, plunk'	*koy-t-*
	Ma. *koy*	"	*ko-c-*
	Ko. *koy-*	'to cut, pluck'	*ko-c-*
	To. *kwīy-*	"	*kwī-s-*
	Koḍ. *koy*	"	*koj-j-*
	Ka. *koy*	"	*koy-d-* (1763)
3.	Ta. *ney*	'to weave'	*ney-t-*
	Ma. *ney*	"	*ney-t-*
	Ko. *nec*	"	*ne-c-*

	To. *nic–* 'to darn'	*ni-č–*
	nes– 'to weave'	*nes–θ-*
	nīθ– 'to weave'	*nīθ–*
	Ko. *ney–* 'to spin (thread)	*nej-j–*
	Ka. *ney/nēy* „	*ney-d-/nē-d–* (3103)
4.	Ta. *aḻu* 'to lament'	*aḻu–t–*
	Ma. *aḻu* „	*aḻu–t–*
	Ko. *ag–*	*aṛ–t–*
	Ka. *aḻ(u)*	*aḻ–t-/at–t–* (240)
5.	Ta. *uḻu* 'to plough'	*uḻu–t-*
	Ma. *uḻu* „	*uḻu–t–*
	Ko. *ug–* „	*uṛ–t-*
	To. *uṣf–* 'to plough'	*uṣ–t–*
	Kod. *ūḷ-* „	*ut-t-*
	Ka. *uḻ* „	*uḻ-t-/ut–t–* (592)

It is to be noted that in Kota $y + t \rightarrow c$; in Toda $y+t \rightarrow s$ (the Toda verb bases in the third example seem to be past stems in origin) and in Koḍagu $y + t \rightarrow jj$. In the Northern dialects of Tamil, the suffix *t* of the earlier stage has been analogically replaced by *nt* after verbs ending in *y* and *y* + *nt* changed to *-ñj–*; therefore for earlier *cey-t–*, etc. these dialects have now *ce–ñj–*, etc. reason for this change seems to be that after verbs ending in *y*, the suffix *–nt–* is more common than *–t–* which is restricted only to a handful of verbs.

Verbs of the $C_1V_1C_2$ *u* type in which C_2 is one of the consonants *k*, *t* and *ṟ* have their past stems in the pattern $C_1V_1C_2C_2$ mainly in all the South Dravidian languages

excepting Tuḻu. The second C_2 in such past stems can be interpreted as the result of the morphophonemic change that operates when the *t* suffix comes into contact with the preceding base. e.g.

1.	Ta. *naku* 'to laugh'		*naḱ–k–*
	Ma. *naku* ,,		*nak–k–*
	Ka. *nagu/nage* ,,		*nak–k–* (2944)
2.	Ta. *puku* 'to enter'		*puk–k–* (later) *puku–nt–*
	Ma. *puku* ,,		*puk–k–*
	Ko. *ük-* ,,		*ük–y–*
	Ka. *puku/poku* ,,		*pok–k–* (3481)
3.	Ta. *iṭu* 'to place, put'		*iṭ–ṭ–*
	Ma. *iṭu* ,,		*iṭ–ṭ–*
	Ko. *iḍ–* ,,		*i–ṭ–*
	To. *īḍ–* ,,		*ī–ṭ–*
	Koḍ *īḍ–* 'to drop (tr.)'		*īṭ–ṭ–*
	Ka. *iḍu* ,,		*iṭ–ṭ–*
	Te. *iḍu* ,,	past adj.	*iḍ–ḍ–a/iḍ–in–a*
	Kol. *īḍ–* ,,		*iṭ–ṭ–*
	Nk. *iṛ–* ,,		*iṭ–ṭ–*
	Pa. *iḍ–* ,,		*iṭ–ṭ–*
	Ga. (S) *iṛ–* ,,		*iṭ–ṭ–* (375)
4.	Ta. *keṭu* 'to be destroyed'		*keṭ–ṭ–*
	Ma. *keṭu* ,,		*keṭ–ṭ–*
	Ko. *keṛ–* ,,		*ke–ṭ–*
	To. *köṛ–* 'to be spoiled'		*kö–ṭ–*
	Kod. *këḍ–* 'to be spoiled'		*këṭ–ṭ–*

	Ka. *kiḍu/keḍu*	'to be destroyed'	*keṭ-ṭ-*
	Te. *ceḍu*	'to be spoiled'	past adj. *ceḍ-ḍ-a/ceḍ-in-a* (1614)
5.	Ta. *paṭu*	'to perish,	*paṭ-ṭ-*
	Ma. *paṭu*	"	*paṭ-ṭ*
	Ko. *paṛ-*	'to lie down'	*pa-ṭ-*
	To. *poṛ-*	"	*po-ṭ-*
	Kod *paḍ-*	"	*paṭ-ṭ-*
	Ka. *paḍu*	"	*paṭ-ṭ-*
	Te. *paḍu*	'to fall'	past adj. *paḍ-ḍ-a/paḍ-in-a*
	Nk. *paṛ-*	"	*paṭ-ṭ-*
	Pa. *paṛ-*	"	*paṭ-ṭ-*
	Ga.(S) *par*	"	*pa-ṭ-* (3190)
6.	Ta. *cuṭu*	'to be hot, burn'	*cuṭ-ṭ-*
	Ma. *tuṛ-*	"	*tu-ṭ-*
	Ko. *tuṛ-*	"	*tu-ṭ-*
	Kod. *cuḍ-*	"	*cuṭ-ṭ-*
	Ka. *suḍu*	"	*suṭ-ṭ-*
	Kol. *suḍ-*	'to cook'	*suṭ-ṭ-*
	Kur. *kuṛ-*	'to grow warm'	*kuṭ-ṭ-*
	Malt. *kuṛ-*	'to burn'	*ku-ṭ-* (2183)
7.	Ta. *teṟu-*	'to burn'	*teṟ-ṟ-*
	Pa. *ted-*	'to be fierce (of sun's heat)'	*tet-t-* (<*teṟ-ṟ-)
	(NE) *ṭeḍ-*	"	*ṭeṭ-ṭ-* (<*teṟ-ṟ-)
8.	Ta. *peṟu*	'to get'	*peṟ-ṟ-*
	Ma. *peṟu*	"	*peṟ-ṟ-*

Koḍ *per-*	'to bear (child)'	*pet-t-*
Ka. *peṟ-*	'to get'	*pet-t-*
Tu. *ped-*	'to bear (child)'	*pet-t-*
Pa. *ped-*	'to obtain'	*pet-t-* (< **peṟ-ṟ-*)
		(3622)

In verbs ending in one of the two nasals *n* and *ṇ* the past stem ends in *t* in those ending in *n* and iu *ṭ* in those ending in *ṇ*. It will be simpler to assume the basic allomorph in these to be *t* rather than *nt* and the morphophonemic rule that operates here is —

$$t \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{t} \\ ṭ \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} \underline{n} \\ ṇ \end{bmatrix} —$$

It is possible to assume that this rule goes back to the Proto-Dravidian stage (probably only in those verbs in which the root vowel is short) since the reflexes of **n̠t̠* and **ṇṭ* occur in South Dravidian, Telugu and also in the Kolami-Parji group.

1.	Ta. *en̠*	'to say'	*en̠-ṟ-*
	Ma. *en*	"	*en-n-*
	Ko. *in-*	"	*i-d̠-*
	To. *īn-*	"	*ī-d̠-*
	Koḍ. **enn-*	"	*en-d-*
	Ka. *en-/an*	"	*en-d-/an-d-*
	Tu. *in-*	"	
	Tl. *anu*	"	*aṇ-ṭ-*
	Go. *in-*	"	*i-tt-*
	Konḍa. *in-*	"	*i-k-*
	Pengo *in-*	"	*i-c-*
	Manḍ *in-*	"	*i-c-*

Kui *in–*	”	*i-s–*
Kuvi *in–*	”	*ic–c-*
Kol. *en-*	”	*en–t-*
Nk.(Ch.) *en-*	”	*en–ḍ-*
Pa. *en–*		*en-d-/et-t-*
PDr. **en-*		PDr. **en–t-*

Proto-Go. -Kui **it-t-* (737)

2.	Ta. *tiṉ*	‘to eat’	*tiṉ-ṟ-*
	Ma. *tin*	”	*tin–n-*
	Ko. *tin-*	”	*ti-ḏ-*
	To. *tīn-*	”	*tī–ḏ-*
	Koḍ. *tinn–*	”	*tin–d-*
	Ka. *tin*(nu)	”	*tin–d-*
	Tu. *tin–*	”	*tin-d-/tin–t-*
	Te. *tinu*	”	*tiṇ–ṭ-*
	Go. *tin–*	”	*ti–tt-*
	Koṇḍa. *tin-*	”	*tin-ṟ-/ti-R-*
	Pe. *tin-*	”	*ti-c-/ci–c-*
	Manḍ. *tin-*	”	*tī–c–*
	Kui. *tin–*	”	*ti–s-*
	Kuvi. *tin-*	”	*ti–c*(c)-
	Kol. *tin-*	”	*tin–d-*
	Nk. *tin–*	”	*tin–d-*
	Nk.(ch). *tin-*	”	*tin-d-*
	Pa. *tin-*	‘to eat’	*tin-d-*
	Ga. (Oll.) *tin-*	”	*tin-ḍ-/ti–y-*
	(S) *tin-*	”	*ti-y-*
	PDr. **tin*		PDr **tint–ṯ-*

Proto-Go.-Kui **tiṯ–ṯ-* (2670(a))

3.	Ta. *uṇ*	'to eat or drink'	*uṇ–ṭ–*
	Ma. *uṇ*	'to eat'	*uṇ–t–*
	Ko. *uṇ*	'to drink'	*u–ḍ–*
	To. *uṇ*	,,	*u-ḍ-*
	Koḍ *uṇṇ–*	'to eat a meal'	*uṇ-ḍ-*
	Ka. *uṇ(nu)*	,,	*uṇ–ḍ–*
	Tu. *uṇ–*	,,	*uṇ-ḍ-* (Past) *uṇ–t–* (Perfect)
	Go. *un–*	'to drink'	*u-ṭṭ–*
	Konḍa *un–*	,,	*u–ṭ–*
	Pe. *uṇ–*	,,	*u–ṭ–*
	Manḍ *nn–*	,,	*u–c–*
	Kui *uṇ–*	,,	*u–ṭ–*
	Kuvi *un–*	,,	
	Kol. *un*	,,	*un–d–*
	Nk. *un*	,,	*un–d–*
	Pa. *un-*	'to drink'	*un–ḍ–*
	Ga. (Oll) *un-*	,,	*un–ḍ-*
	(S.) *un–*	,,	*un–ḍ-*
	Kur. *ōn-*	,,	*oṇ-ḍ*
	Malt *ōn–*	,,	*on–ḍ–*
	PDr. **uṇ–*		PDr. **uṇ–ṭ–*
		Proto-Go,–Kui **uṭ-ṭ-* (516)	
4.	Ta. *cel*	'to go'	*ceṉ–ṟ–*
	Ma. *cel*	,,	*cen–n-*
	Ko. *cal*	'(prayer) is acceptable to God'	*ca–d–*
	To. *sal-*	'to belong to'	*sa–d–*
	Ka. *sal-*	'to enter'	*sa–nd–*
	Tu. *salli*	'to be valid'	*salli-t–*

Te. *canu* 'to go'	*can–iti–*
Go. *son–* „	*so-tt–*
Koṇḍa. *sol* „	*so–R–*
Pe. *hal* „	*ha-c–*
Manḍ. *hal* „	*ha–c–*
Kui. *sal* „	*sa–s–*
Kuvi. *hal* „	*ha–ə*
Kol. *ser-* 'to go'	*sed-d–*
Nk (ch) *ser–/sen–/se–* 'to go,	*sed-d–*
Pa. *cen–* „	*cen–d–*
Ga. (Oll.) *sen–* „	*sen–ḍ-*
	se-y–
(S.) *cen–* „	*se–y–*

PDr. **cel–* PDr, **caṯ-ṯ–*

Proto-Go.-Kui **caṯ-ṯ-* (2286)

6. Since the regular reflex of original **nṯ* in Telugu is *ṇḍ*, the occurrence of *ṇṭ* in the past stems of verbs ending in **n* and **ṇ* in it is explained by Emeneau (1967:388) as due to the replacement of original voice *ḍ* by voiceless *ṭ* "by analogy with the voiceless (but dental) *ṯ* in the past suffix *–it–* in the 1st and 2nd personal past forms of all other Telugu verbs".

As the above examples indicate the Gondi-Kui subgroup of Central Dravidian shows an innovation in the formation of the past stems of verbs ending in *n* or *ṇ*. The past stems of such verbs in this group give evidence for the Proto-Gondi-Kui sequences **ṯṯ* ann *ṭṭ* in the place of PDr. **nṯ* and *ṇṭ*. Evidently in this group original **n̲ṯ* and *ṇṭ* have changed to **ṯṯ* and *ṭṭ* respectively. The change of **nṯ* into *ṯṯ* appears in some of these languages in a few nouns also, e.g. Go.

eddī 'sunshine'> **eṯṯi*: Ta. *eṉṟu* (<**el*+**t*), *el* 'sun' (738 & 707); Go. *paddī*, Kui *paji*, Kuvi *pajji* (<* *paṯṯi* but Koṇḍa *panṟi*, Pe. Manḍ. *panji* : Ta. *panṟi* 'pig' (3326); can this be from **pal* 'tooth' (3288) +**ti*?. A similar change in Gadaba (only in the alveolar sequence) is probably an independent development in it.

2.24. *-nt-.

This suffix occurs more commonly only in the Tamil-Koḍagu group of South Dravidian. In Kannada the nasal in it is preserved only in five verbs, all of which have allomorphs of the type CV-, i.e., the nasal is retained only when it immediately follows a short vowel of the first syllable:

nō-	'to suffer'	*no-nd-*
bar-	'to come'	*ba-nd-*
tar-	'to bring'	*ta-nd-*
mī-	'to bathe'	*mi-nd-/mī-d-*
bē-	'to be hot'	*be-nd-*

In the other positions, i.e., when it ends an initial syllable with a long vowel or a short vowel plus a consonant (usually) *y* or *ṟ*), or when it ends an original (i.e., PSDr.) second syllable, the nasal of it is dropped and it changes to *d*, e g., *mī-d-* (past stem of *mī-* 'to bathe') *āy-d-* (past stem of *āy-* 'to collect') *sōr-d-* (past stem of *sōr-* 'to become loose'), *suy-d-* (past stem of *suy-* 'to breathe, sigh'), *agaḻ-d-* (past stem of *agaḻ-* 'to dig'), *ir-d-* (past stem of *ir-* 'to be'). (See Emeneau 1967 : 382.83).

Tuḷu preserves this suffix in the nagative adverbial and adjectival participles although it does not appear in the past stem formation in that language (see § 4.7).

Since traces of it occur in the past stem forms of a few verbs in Parji and Gadaba outside South Dravidian, it can reasonably be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. Moreover there are indications that in some of the languages it was incorporated into the base in a few verbs.

In the Tamil-Koḍagu group of South Dravidian it occurs mainly in verbs ending in *i*, *y*, *r* and *ḻ* and also in a few disyllabic verbs ending in *u* (Ta. *iru* 'to be' *DED* 407, Ta. *eḻu* 'to get up' 723, Ta. *vaṟu* 'to be fried' 4360, Ta. *viḻu* 'to fall' 4457. In Ta. *taku* 'to be fit' (2435) and *puku* 'to enter' (3481), the old past stems *tak–k–* and *puk–k–*, which are still preserved in Malayalam, Kota, Toda and Kannaḍa have been analogically replaced by forms with *–nt–*, i.e. *taku-nt–* and *puku-nt–* in post-*Caṅkam* period (Subrahmanya Sastri (1934 : 169) quotes *pukuntu* from *Cilappatikāram* 574 : 14).

Tamil–Malayalam and Koḍagu have a class of some seventy verbs, the majority of which end in *a*, and the rest in *ā* (the verb *mō* of this class is a homophonous form and means 'to smell' (4000), 'to take in a vessel (as liquid)'(4001) and 'to undertake' (4211); in all the three cases, it is a contraction of *muka* which also occurs beside it (compare *mō* in 4211 with *muka* in 4001 or with *muyal* 'to try' in 4070). (Emeneau 1967 : 388 : 90). The peculiarity of this class (Arden's 7th conjugation or the 12th conjugation of

the Tamil Lexicon) in all these three languages is that these verbs take *-nt-* as the past suffix but *-pp-* as the future suffix ; elsewhere *-nt-* is associated with *-v-* of the future suffix. In these three languages this class with a final *a* contrasts with verbs with final **-ay*. The distinction between these two classes in these languages is parallelled by a similar distinction in Tuḷu and Telugu (in the latter the verbs ending in *a* were secondarily extended with the derivative suffix *-cu*. e.g. *maṟacu* 'to forget' : Ta. Ma. *maṟa* (3897), *naḍacu* 'to walk' : Ta. Ma. *naṭa* (2957) while **ay* remains as *ayu*. *neṟayu* 'to become full' : Ta. Ma. *niṟay* (3049). Therefore it is certain that some verbs of this class with final *a* go back to Proto-Dravidian. In Toda-Kota both the derivative suffixes **-a* and **-ay* are dropped while in Kannada, the two classes are not differentiated and show stems with *e* (< **ay*) in all forms except those of the past, which have *a* alternating with *e*. It is clear that in the past stems in this language, the alternative appearance of *e* in **a* class as well well as that of *a* in **ay-* class is analogical. Since South Dravidian seems to have preserved the original past tense formation to a large extent, we may conclude that **nt* was occurring in this class of verbs in Proto-Dravidian also.

In the Tamil-Koḍagu group the dental suffixes *nt* and *tt* are palatalized to **ñc* and **cc* when they occur after verbs ending in *i* or *y* (the *y* is lost after affecting the change; see Emeneau 1967 : §§ 3—7—10). In Tamil forms with this change appear both in literature and the inscriptions only from the seventh century onwards and therefore we may assume that this change took place round about that period. Toda-Kota and Koḍagu show palatalization of **t* also;

Malayalam and the neighbouring Tamil dialects do not show such a change but in the majority of the Tamil dialects earlier past stems like *cey-t-* (: *cey* 'to do'), *pey-t-* (: *pey* 'to rain') are analogically replaced by (*ce-ñj-*, *pe-ñj-*, etc. on the model of *mē-ñj-* < **mēy-nt-* (: *mēy* 'to graze'), *kā-ñj-* < **kāy-nt-* (: *kāy* 'to grow hot'), etc. which contain the predominant suffix *nt*. The reflexes of **nt* in this group of languages are given below (the reflexes in the first column appear in the non-palatalizing context and those in the second in the palatalizing context.

Ta. *nt* (later)	*nj*
Ma. *nn*	*ññ*
Ko. *d*	*c*
To. *s*	θ
Koḍ. *nd*	*ñj*

It has already been observed that in this group the two suffixes **nt* and **tt* (and their palatalized variants) in some verbs respectively signify intransitive and tranaitive. It is a shared innovation in this group; the intransitive suffixes in some and the transitive suffixes in the others must be due to innovation (see § 1.).

Parji and Gadba (Ollari and Salur) have a class of verbs, most of which end in *ī* or *y* and two in *r* (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953 : 53, Bhattacharya 1956, § 32, Subrahmanyam 1964). In Parji the past suffix in this class is *ñ*; before it the vowel *ī* is shortened and *y* and *r* are dropped. In Gadba the suffix in this class is *n*. Ex.

1. Pa. *er-* (*e-ñ-*) 'to become'
   Ga. (Oll.) *er-* (*e-n-*) ,,

(S.) *ēr-* (*en-n-*) 'to become'
Cf Ta. *iru* (*iru* (*iru-nt-*) 'to exist' (407 & 702)

2. Pa. *ver-* (*ve-ñ-*) 'to come'
Ga. (Oll) *var-* (*va-n-*) ,,
(S.) *vār-* (*van-n-*) ,,
Cf. Ta. *varu-* (*va-nt-* ,, (4311)

3. Pa. *uy-* (*u-ñ-*) 'to carry, take'
Ga. (Oll.) *uy-* (*u-n-*) 'to take away'
Cf. Ta. *oy-* (*oy-nt*) 'to drag along (as flood)' (831)

4. Pa *cī* (*ci-ñ-*) 'to give'
Ga. (Oll,) *sī* (*sī-n-*) ,,
Cf. Ta. *ī* (*ī-nt-*) 'to give to inferiors' (2138)

5. Pa. *mī-* (*mi-ñ-*) 'to bathe'
Cf. Ka. *mī* (*yu*) (*mi-nd-/mī-d-*) ,, (3995)

6. Pa. *koy-* (*ko-ñ-* 'to reap'
Ga. (Oll.) *koy-* (*ko-n-*) ,,
Cf. Ta. *koy-* (*koy-t-*; Mo. *ko-ñj-*) 'to cut' (1763)

Since Parji *-ñ-* corresponds to *-ñj-* of other languages in examples like the following

Pa. *neliñ* 'moon' : Go. *nalēnj*, *nalenj* (3113)
Pa. *guññi* 'owl' : Kui. Kuvi *gunji*, Konda *uma gunji* (1372)
Pa. *pañ-* 'to be replete, satisfied' : Go. Kui. Kuvi *panj-* (3174)

the past stems *e-ñ-*' *ve-ñ-* etc. are from Pre-Parji *e-ñj-*, *ve-ñj-* etc. Since most of the verbs in this class in *i* or *y* and

their cognates in the South Dradidian languages contain the *nt* suffix in the past stem it may reasonably be assumed that the Pre-Parji **-nj-* has resulted from original **nt* due to palatalization. In the first example, in which the verb ends in *r*, the *e* vowel might be responsible for the palatalization while in the second, i. e. Pa. *ver* (*ve-ñ-*) the palatalization should have taken place after the change of the original vowel *a* to *e*; alternatively the past stem of this verb may be analogical to that of *er-*. In verbs like Pa. *koy-* (*ko ñ-*) 'to reap' (1763; PDr. **koy-t-*), Pa. *cay-* (*ca-ñ-*), Ga.-*say-* (*sa-n-*) 'to die' (2002; PDr. **ca-tt*) etc. in which the corresponding Proto-Dravidian past stems do not show *-nt-* it is clear that the past stems in Parji and Gadba are analogical to the past stems of the other *y-* ending verbs.[2] It is interesting to note that Gadba shows the suffix *-n* in in the same class of verbs in which the suffix *-ñ-* appears in Parji. It is probable, though not certain, that Gadaba *-n-* in these verbs is from original, i.e, Proto-Pa.-Ga. **ñj-*. The changes in this class of verbs in these two languages provides an isogloss of shared innovation in Parji and Gadba.

In a few cases some of the non-South Dravidian languages (and also the South Dravidian languages some-

2. M. B. Emeneau (1957: 42) earlier thought that Parji *-ñj-* is related to the past suffix **-c-* with the assumption that **-c-* also had the variants **-nc-* and **-cc-* like **-t-* which has the variants **-nt-* and **-tt-* in the Tamil-Koḍ group. But in his paper of 1967 he accepted the present explanation which was originallay set forth in Subrahmanyam 1964.

times) contain verb bases with the derivative suffix *-nd-* or *-ñj-/ -nc-* while the corresponding verb bases in many other languages do not have it. Since in such verbs the Tamil-Koḍagu group show the *-nt-* suffix in the past stems, it is to be suspected the original past suffix has been incorporated into the base in such languages. If this assumption is true, then such forms can be considered to provide indirect evidence for the presence of the **nt* suffix in them in Proto-Dravidian. The following are the examples.

i) Kui. *rī-nd-* to be stable, steady' : Ta. *iru(-nt-)* 'to be' 407

ii) Kui. *pa-nj-* 'to fly, leap' : Ta. *pāy (-n-)* 'to spring' leap, 3362

iii) Te. *niṇḍu* 'to be filld', Go. *nind-*, Ko. *ninṟ*. Pe. *nenj-*, Manḍ. *nenj-*, Kui. *nenj-*, Kuvi. *nenj-*, Kol Nk. *nind-* <PCDr. **ninṯ-* <**niṟai-nt-*; Ta. *nirai (-nt-)* 3049

iv) Ka. *piṇḍu, hiṇḍu* 'to squeeze', (Ko. *iṇḍ-*, Kod. *puṇḍ* >Ka. *puṇḍu*, Kol. Nk. *pīnḍ-*, Br. *princ-* <**piḻi-nt-* : Ta. *piḻi(-nt-)* 3440 (a)

v) Kur. Malt. *nunj-* 'to pain' : Ta. *nōy (-nt-)* 'to be ill', Pa. *noy- (na-ñ-)* 'to be painful' (3143).

In South Dravidian Kota shows such a change in cases like the following.

i) Ko. *mūnj-* 'to have spasmodic jerking of limbs in sleep' : Ta. *muri (-nt-)* 'to bend' (4080)

ii) Ko. *kornj-* 'to become reduced to size', *korc-* 'to reduce (tr.)' : Ta. *kuṟai* (*-nt-* (intr.), *-tt-* (tr.)) (1537).

iii) Ko. *pirnj-* 'to separate onself from', *pirc-* 'to separate (persons)' : Ta. *piri* (*-nt-* (intr.), *-tt-* (tr.)) (3435).

In the Tamil-Koḍagu group of languages, a class of verbs ending in *l* or *ḷ* have past stems with *nṟ* or *ṇṭ* ; it is more economical to set up *nt* rather than *t* as the past suffix in this class and derive *nṟ* and *ṇṭ* by the morphophonemic change *l*/*ḷ* + *nt* → *nṟ*/*ṇṭ*. Although this change operates in the Tamil-Koḍagu group in all verbs ending in *l* or *ḷ* of this class, in Pre-Kannaḍa it operates only in monosyllabic verbs containing a short vowel and ending in *l* or *ḷ*, i.e., verbs of the (C)V *l*/*ḷ* type, e.g., *nil* (*ni-nd-* < **ninṟ-*) 'to stand', koḷ. (*ko-ṇḍ-* < **koṇṭ-*) 'to seize' but *agal* (*agal-d-*) 'to separate form' (contrast Ta. *akal* (*akaṉṟ-*)), *āḷ* (*āḷ-d-*) 'to rule' (contrast Ta. *āḷ* (*āṇṭ-*)). Similarly in verbs ending in the nasal *n* or *ṇ* also, the following past suffix is assimilated to the position of the nasal only in verbs of the (C)VC type in Kannaḍa, cf. Ka. *uṇ* (*uṇḍ-*) 'to take meal' (: Ta. *uṇ* (*uṇṭ-*)) but Ka. *pūṇ* (*pūṇḍ-*) 'to begin' (: Ta. *pūṇ* (*pūṇṭ-*) 'to wear'. Some of the Central Dravidian languages, like Kannaḍa give evidence for such a change only in verbs that contain a short vowel. Therefore it seems that this morphophonemic rule was operating originally only in monosyllabic verbs with a short vowel as evidenced by Kannaḍa and some Central Dravidian languages and that it has been extended to all verbs

(of this class) ending in *l* or *ḷ* in the Tamil-Koḍagu group.[3] This assumption is further supported by the fact that in Dravidian the morphophonemic change of *t* into *k*, *ṭ* or *ṟ* is found only in verbs that contain a short vowel and end in *k*, *ṭ*, or *ṟ*.

Jules Bloch's explanation (1954 : 72) of this suffix as an original individual verb **und-* meaning 'to be' can no longer be held to be valid. The non-occurrence of such a verb in Dravidian (Ta. Ma. *uṇḍu* 'is, are', Ka. *uṇṭu* 'that is/exists' Te. *uṇḍu* 'to bc' etc. in *DED* 599 which probably he has in mind contain the retroflex *ṇṭ* and do not give evidence for **und-*) as well as the occurrence of the **nt* suffix in only a certain class of verbs makes this explanation untenable. Caldwell's explanation (1856 : 501) of this as 'euphonisation of *d*' is also equally vague. Exx.

1.	Ta. *aḷa*	'to measure'	*aḷa-nt-*
	Ma. *aḷa*	"	*aḷa-nn-*
	Ko. *aḷv*	"	*aḷa-d-*
	To. *aḷ-*	"	*aL-θ̣-*
	Koḍ. *aḷa-*	"	*aḷa-nd-*
	Ka. *aḷe*	"	*aḷa-d-/aḷe-d-*(252)
2.	Ta. *aṟi*	'to know'	*aṟi-nt-*
	Ma. *aṟi*	"	*aṟi-ññ-*
	Ko. *ayr*	"	*ar-c-*

3. Emeneau (1967 : 385) however inclines to think that Ka. *agald-*, etc. are remade from original **agand-* < **akanṟ-* but notes parenthetically : "But it is conceivable, though not very probable, that these verbs had past stems of the form C V C V *l nd-*, in which nd > d."

	To. *ar̲y*	'to know'	*ar̲-s-*
	Koḍ. *arɨ-*	'to find out'	*ari-ñj-*
	Ka. *ar̲i*	'to know'	*aṛi-t-aṛi-d-* (265)
3.	Ta. *āḷ*	'to rule'	*ā-ṇṭ-*
	Ma. *āḷ*	"	*ā-ṇṭ-*
	Ko. *āṇ*	"	*ā-ḍ-*
	To. *ōḷ-*	"	*ō-ḍ-*
	Koḍ. *āḷ-*	"	*āḷ-i-*
	Ka. *āḷ*	"	*āḷ-d-* (341)
4.	Ta. *iru*	'to exist'	*iru-nt-*
	Ma. *iri*	'to sit'	*iru-nn-*
	Ko. *ig-*	'to exist'	*i-t-*
	To. *īr-*	'to sit'	*ī-θ-*
	Koḍ. *ir-*	'to be'	*i-ñj-*
	Ka. *iru(u)*	"	*ir-d-/id-d-* (407)
5.	Ta. *eḻu*	'to rise'	*eḻu-nt-*
	Ma. *eḻu*	"	*eḻu-n-*
	Ko. *eṛv-*	'(smoke) riger up'	*eṛ-d-*
	To. *öḍ-*	'to be raised'	*öḍ-θ-*
	Koḍ. *ëḷ-*	'to get up'	*ëd-d-*
	Ka. *eḻ, ēḻ(u)*	'to stand up'	*ed-d-* (723 (a))
6.	Ta. *kari*	'to be charred, singed'	*kari-nt-*
	Ma. *kari*	"	*kari-ññ-*
	To. *kary-*	"	*kar-s-*
	Koḍ. *kari-*	"	*kari-ñj-*
	Ka. *kari*	"	*kari-d-* (1073(a))

7.	Ta. *kāy*	'to grow hot'	*kāy-nt-*
	Ma. *kāy*	,,	*kā-ññ-*
	Ma. *kāy-*	,,	*kā-c-*
	To. *kōy-*	,,	*kō-s-*
	Koḍ. *kāy-*	,,	*kā-ñj-*
	Ka. *kāy*	,,	*kā(y)-d-* (1219)
8.	Ta. *koḷ*	'to receive, buy'	*koṇ-ṭ-*
	Ma. *Koḷ*	,,	*koṇ-ṭ-*
	Ko. *koḷ*, *koṇ*	'to many, buy (cattle)	*ko-ḍ-*
	To. *kwīḷ-*	'to carry (corpse)'	*kwī-ḍ-*
	Koḍ, *koḷḷ-*	'to take'	*koṇ-ḍ-*
	Ka. *koḷ* (*ḷu*)	'to take, buy'	*koṇ-ḍ-*
	Tu. *koṇ-*	'to take'	*koṇ-ḍ-* (1788)
9.	Ta. *cel*	'to go'	*ce-ṉṟ-*
	Ma. *cel*	,,	*ce-nn-*
	Ko. *cal-*	'(prayer) is acceptable to god'	*ca-k-* (< Ka.)
	To. *sal-*	'to belong to	*sa-d-* (< Ka.)
	Ka. *sal-*	'to enter'	*sa-nd* (2286)
10.	Ta. *ñāl*	'to hang (intr.)'	*ñā-ṉr-*
	Ma. *ñāl*	"	*ñā-ṉṉ-*
	Ko. *nēn-*	'to be stuck in high place'	*nēn-ḏ-*
	Kod. *nēr-*	'to hang'	*nē-nd*
	Ka. *nēl*	"	*nēl-d*/ (Mod. *nē-t-*) (2373)

11.	Ta. *taru*	'to give to 1st or 2nd person'	*ta-nd-*
	Ma. *taru*	”	*ta-nn*
	Ko. *tār-*	”	*ta-ḏ-*
	To. *tōr*	”	*to-d-*
	Koḍ. *tar-*	”	*ta-nd*
	Ka. *tar, tār*	'to give'	*ta-nd-* (2526)
12.	Ta. *tāḻ-*	'to fall low'	*tāḻ-nt*
	Ma. *tāḻ*	”	*tā-ṇ-*
	To. *toy-*	”	*tō-s-*
	Koḍ. *tār-*	'to descend'	*tā-nd-* (2597)
13.	Ta. *naṭa*	'to walk'	*naṭa-nt-*
	Ma. *naṭa*	”	*naṭa-nn-*
	Ko. *naṛv-*	”	*naṛ-d-*
	To. *naṛ-*	”	*naṛ-θ-*
	Koḍ. *naḍa-*	”	*naḍa-nd-*
	Ka. *naḍe*	”	*naḍa-d-* (2957)
14.	Ta. *nil*	'to stand'	*ni-ṉṟ-*
	Ma. *nil*	”	*ni-nn-*
	Ko. *nil-/nin-*	”	*nin-ḏ-*
	To. *nīl-*	”	*nī-ḏ-*
	Koḍ. *nill-*	”	*ni-nd-*
	Ka. *nil(u)*	”	*ni-nd-/nil-t-/nin-t-* (3043)
15.	Ta. *nō*	'to feel pain'	*no-nt-*
	Ma *nō*	”	*no-nt-*
	Koḍ. *no-*	”	*no-nd-*
	Ka. *nō*	”	*no-nd-* (3143)

16.	Ta. *piri*	'to become parted'	*piri-nt-*/ (colloq.) *piri-ñj-*
	Ma. *piri*	"	*piri-ññ-*
	Ko. *pirnj-*	'to become parted'	*pirnj-*
	To. *pīry-*	"	*pīr-s-*
	Koḍ. *piri-*	"	*piri-ñj-*
	Ka. *hiri-*	"	*hiri-d-* (3435)
17.	Ta. *mēy*	'to graze'	*mēy-nt-*/(colloq.) *mē-ñj-*
	Ma. *mēy*	"	*mē-ññ-*
	Ko. *mēy-*	"	*mē-c-*
	To. *mīy-*	"	*mī-s-*
	Kod. *mēy-*	"	*mē-ñj-*
	Ka. *mēy*, *mē(yu)*		*mēy-d-*/(Mod.) *mē-d-* (4179)
18.	Ta. *varu*	'to come'	*va-nt-*
	Ma. *varu*	"	*va-nn-*
	Ko. *vār-*	"	*va-d-*
	To. *pōr-*	"	*po-d-*
	Koḍ. *bar-*	"	*ba-nd-*
	Ka. *bar*, *bār*	"	*ba-nd-* (4311)
19.	Ta. *viḻu*	'to fall'	*viḻu-nt-*
	vīḻ	"	*vīḻ-nt-*
	Ma. *vīḻ*	'to fall'	*vī-ṇ-*
	Ko. *vig-*	"	*viṛ-t-*
	To. *pīd-*	"	*pīḍ-θ-*
	Kod. *būḻ*	"	*bud-d-*
	Ka. *biḻ*, *bīḻ*	"	*biḻ-d*/*bird-d-*/ (mod.) *bid-d-* (4457)

20.	Ta. *vē*	'to burn (intr.),	*ve-nt-*
	Ma. *vē*	,,	*ve-nt-*
	Ko. *vey-*	,,	*vedy-* (**vey-d-*)
	To. *pöy-*	,,	*pȫ-d-*
	Kod. *bēy-*	'to be warmed'	*be-ñj-*
	Ka. *bey(yu), beyyu*	'to be burnt up'	*be-nd-* (4540)

2.25. **tt-*.

In the Tamil–Koḍagu of languages it occurs in complementation with the other two dental suffixes **-t-* and **-nt-*. Kannaḍa has the suffix *-t-* in a few verbs and in some it occurs in free variation with *-d-*. The Central Dravidian languages and Tuḷu to some extent contain the voiceless *-t-* in the past stems of the majority of the verbs. It may reasonable be assumed that this voiceless *t* in Kannaḍa, Tuḷu and the Central Dravidian group is from PDr. **tt-*. It must also be noted that in the Central Dravidian languages it has replaced the other suffixes in a large number of cases.

In Tamil and other languages of the Tamil-Koḍagu it occurs in the verbs of the 11th conjugation of the *Tamil Lexicon* and also in a few verbs ending in *ḷ* and *ḻ* (9th and 10th conjugations respectively. In the latter classes the rule *ḷ/ḻ+tt → ṭṭ/ṯṯ* operates in this group; excepting one case (*DED* 1156) where Kurukh–Malto show evidence for this change no other language (including the two remaining languages Kannaḍa and Tuḷu of South Dravidian has evidence for this change. However, on the basis of the evidence from Kuṛux-Malto in *DED* 1156, we have to conclude that this rule was originally operating in verbs of the (C)VC type and

that it was extended in the Tamil-Koḍagu group to verbs with a long vowel. (Kannaḍa seems to have regularized the past stems of verbs with a short vowel followed by *l* or *ḷ*.) The other two innovations that are connected with this suffix in this group are the palatalization of the *tt* to *cc* after verbs ending in *i* or *y* (from the Middle Tamil period onwards) and the expression of the intransitive-transitive distinction by the usage of *nt* (intransitive) and *tt* (transitive) in a class of verbs (see § 1.) Ex.

1.	Ta. *aṭi*	'to beat'	*aṭi-tt-*/ (colloq.) *aṭi-cc-*
	Ma. *aṭi*	"	*aṭi-cc-*
	Ko. *ayṛ-*	'to strike (ball in game)'	*aṛ-c-*
	Kod. *aḍi-*	'(lightning) strikes'	*aḍi-c-* (67)
2.	Ta. *kal*	'to learn'	*ka-ṟṟ-*
	Ma. *kal*	,,	*ka-ṟṟ-*
	Ko. *kal*	,,	*ka-ṯ-*
	To. *kaL,*	,,	*ka-ṯ-*
	Ka. *kal, kali*	,,	*kāl-t-*/*kali-t-*
	Tu. *kalpu-*	,,	*kal-t-* (1090)
3.	Ta. *kaḻi*	'to pass time'	*kaḻi-tt-*/(colloq.) *kaḻi-cc-*
	Ma. *kaḻi*	,,	*kaḻi-cc-*
	Koḍ. *kayy-*	,,	*kay-c-* (1142)
4.	Ta. *kaḷ*	'to steal'	*ka-ṭṭ-*
	Ma. *kaḷ*	,,	*ka-ṭṭ-*
	Ko. *kaḷv-*	,,	*kaḷ-d-*

	To. *koḷ-*	,,	*koḷ-d-*
	Koḍ. *kaḷ*	,,	*ka-ṭṭ-*
	Ka. *kaḷ*	,,	*kaḷ-d-*
	Kur. *k̲h̲aṛ-*	,,	*k̲h̲aḍ-ḍ-*
	Malt. *qal-*	,,	*qa-ḍ-* (1156)
5.	Ta. *kā*	'to watch, wait'	*kā-tt-*
	Ma. *kā*	,,	*kā-tt-*
	Ko. *kāv-*	,,	*kā-t-*
	To. *kōf-*	,,	*kō-t-*
	Koḍ. *kā-*	,,	*kā-t-*
	Ka. *kā, kāy,*	,,	*kā-d-/kāy-d-*
	Tu. *kāpu-*	,,	*kā-t-* (1192)
6.	Ta. *kēḷ*	'to hear, ask'	*kē-ṭṭ-*
	Ma. *kēḷ*	,,	*kē-ṭṭ-*
	Ko. *kēḷ-*	'to hear'	*kē-ṭ-*
	To. *kēL-*	,,	*kē-ṭ-*
	Koḍ. *kë̄ḷ-*	'to hear, ask'	*kë̄-ṭ-*
	Ka. *kēḷ*	,,	*kēl-d-/kēḷ-id-*
	Tu. *kēṇ-*	,,	*kēṇ-ḍ-* (1677)
7.	Ta. *kō, kōr*	'to string'	*kō-tt-/kōr-tt-*
	Ma. *kō, kōr*	,,	*kō-tt-/kōr-tt-*
	Ko. *kōv-*	,,	*kō-t-*
	Ka. *kō*	,,	*kō-t-/kō-d-*
	Koḍ. *koya*	,,	*koya-t-* (1809)
8.	Ta. *cā*	'to die'	*ce-tt-*
	Ma. *cā*	'to die'	*ca-tt-*
	To. *soy-*	'to die (of other than Todas)'	*so-t-*

	Koḍ. *cāḷ-*	'to die'	*ca-tt-*
	Ka. *sāy-*	"	*sa-tt-*
	Tu. *say-*	"	*say-t-* (2002)
9.	Ta. *tōl*, *tōr*	'to be defeated'	*tō-ṟṟ-/tōr-tt-*
	Ma. *tōl*	"	*tō-ṟṟ-*
	Ko. *cōl-*, *cōv-*	"	*cō-t-*
	To. *twīL-*	"	*twī-ṯ-*
	Koḍ. *cōl*	"	*cō-t-*
	Ka. *sōl*(u)	"	*sōl-t-*/(mod.) *sō-t-*
	Tu. *tōlpu*, *sōpu*, *sōln*	"	(2936)
10.	Ta. *mēy*	'to cause to graze'	*mēy-tt-*/(colloq.) *mē-cc-*
	Ma. *mēy*	"	*mē-cc-*
	Ko. *mēc-*	"	*mē-c-*
	To. *mīc-*	"	*mī-č-*
	Koḍ. *mēy-*	"	*mē-c-* (4179)

2.26 *-*i*-

Among all the past suffixes, this has the widest distribution in the daughter languages in which it is preserved and therefore, also in Proto-Dravidian. The languages that have completely lost its reflexes are Gonḍi, Pengo, Kolami-Naiki and Brahui. While the Brahui past tense formation in many respects is quite unrelated to that of the other languages in Gonḍi, Pengu and Kolami–Naiki the dental suffix *-t-* has spread to all verbs at the expense of *-*i*-.

Apart from the South Dravidian languages, Telugu and the Koṇḍa-Kui-Kuvi group are the important languages that furnish evidence for this suffix. The *y* suffix Kuruḵh and

Malto (only in 3rd person forms) also seems to be regular reflex of the original *-*i*-, e.g., *tupp-* (*tup-y-*) 'to spit' *nīnd-* (*nīnd-y-*) 'to be filled', *ēk-* (*ēk-y-*) 'to walk', *cīp-* (*cipp-y-*) 'to suck'.

In the Tamil-Koḍagu group of languages, where *-i-* occurs in complementary distribution with the three dental suffixes, it is possible to state the conditioning factor for the *-i-* terms of the phonological structure of the bases with which it occurs. It occurs after monosyllabic or disyllabic stems ending in one of the stop consonants (single, geminated or preceded by a nasal) with the exception of monosyllabic stems containing a short vowel and ending in one of the single stop, *k*, *ṭ* and *ṟ* i. e., verbs of the 5th conjugation of Tamil Lexicon). In this statement the term "stop consonant" includes the palatal affricate *c* and also the labial fricative *v*. In the Konḍa-Kui-Kuvi group also essentially the same conditioning holds good for the suffix *-it-* although as stated by Burrow and Bhattacharya (1963:260), the original distribution is obscured here by "a certain amount of transference both to and from this class." In Gonḍi, Pengo and Manḍa, which also belong to this group, the *i* vowel in *-it-* might have been lost and consequently the earlier *-it-* merged with the other suffix *-i-* in them. (Note that *-*i*- changes to *-y-* in Kota, Toda, and Tuḷu (also Kuruḵẖ-Malto). Examples for bases with which *-*i*- occurs are: **añc-* 'to be afraid, (51), **aṭaṅk-* 'to be subdued' (56) **aṭakk-* 'to subdue' (56), **āṭ-* 'to play' (290). **āṯ-* 'to cool' (346) **oṭṭ-* 'to wager, (808), **kaṭṭ-* 'to tie' (961), **kalaṅk-* 'to be stirred, (1096), *kalakk-* 'to stir up' (1096), **kutt-* 'to pierce' (1429), **kūṭ-* 'to assemble' (1562), **cuṯṯ-* to wind round' (2238) *ñāṯ-* 'to

sprout' (2380), **tirump-* 'to turn (tr.)' (2655), **tirupp-* 'to turn (tr.)' (2655), **tiṯṯ-* 'to feed' (2670) **cuñc-* 'to sleep' (2693), **tūnk-* 'to hang (intr.)' (2777), **tūkk-* 'to hang (tr.)' (2777), **tōnṯ-* 'to appear' (2942), **tōṟṟ-* 'to show' (2942), **pāṭ-* 'to sing' (3348), **mucc-* 'to cover' (4025) etc.

In Tamil (and its closely related languages) there are a few verbs which though ending in a non-stop (usually *l*, *ḷ*, *r* or *ṇ*) consonant take the *-i-* suffix. Some of them like Ta. *allu* (*alli-*) 'to knit, plait' (221), Ta. *kēru* (*kēri-*) 'to cackle (as a hen)' (1671), Ta. *kōru* (*kōri*; in this *r* < **r*, cf. Ma. *kōṟuka*) 'to request' (1848). Ta. *callu* 'to sprinkle water' (1969), Ta. *tāḷu-* (*tāḷi-*) 'to bear', Ko. *tāḷ-* (*tāḷy-*) 'to stop and wait' (2605), Ta. *tūru-tūri-* in this *r* < **r*, cf. Ma. *tūṟuka*) 'to go to stool' (2796), Ta. *tēlu* (*tēli-*) 'to get rid of' (2852) do not occur in early literature and seem to be late loan words from the neighbouring languages. In Ta. Ma. *taṭavu* (*taṭavi-*) 'to stroke, Koḍ. *tavḍ-* (*tavḍi-*) 'to feel way in dark' (2454), the *v* is from **kk* as evidenced by Ko. *taṛk-*(*taṛky-*), Ka. *taḍaku*(*taḍaki-*) 'to grope for' and therefore is not a real exception to the above statement. In Ta. Ma. *tummu* (*tummi-*), *tumpu* (*tumpi-*) 'to sneeze', (2740), the *mm* seems to be from **mp*, cf. also Ko. *tub-* (*tuby-*), To. *tüb-* (*tüby-*). Ta. Ma. Kod. *tuḷḷu* (*tuḷḷi-*) 'to leap' (2767), Ta. Ma. *taḷḷu* (*taḷḷi-*), Ko. *taḷ-* (*tayḷ*), To. *toḷ-* (*toḷy-*) 'to push' (2559), Ta. Ma. *eṇṇu* (*eṇṇi-*), To. *ōṇ-* (*ōṇy-*) 'to count' (678) are restricted only to South Dravidian. The verbs Ta. Ma. *paṇṇu* (*paṇṇi-*) 'to do' (3209) and Ta. *naṇṇu* (*naṇṇi-*) 'to draw near', Ma. *naṇṇu* (*naṇṇi-*) 'to remember' (2962) are formed from the corresponding nouns and in fact, the nouns alone are there in the related languages. These

few exceptions, therefore, do not in any way impair the validity of the conditioning stated above for the *-*i*- suffix.

Finally the addition to this suffix of a consonant which itself was originally a past suffix in some languages must be mentioned. Which in Kota, Toda and Koḍagu it remains by itself, it is followed by *ṉ* in Tamil, by -*d*- in Kannaḍa, by -*t*- in 1st and 2nd person finite forms and by -*n*- the past adjective and conditional in Old Telugu and by -*t*- in Konḍa-Kul-Kuvi in forms other than the past adverb.

Regarding the Kannaḍa development, Emeneau (1967 : 385) has traced the origin and the great spread of the -*d*- suffix in it, which "is a far-reaching innovation shared by none of the other SDr. languages and separating Kannaḍa from all the others, as well as from the other Dravidian languages. "The -*d*- in it is the regular reflex of original *-*t*- and also *-*nt*- (except after stems of the (C) V-type); it is further reinforced by the development of original **nṟ* into *nd* in verbs ending in *l* and *n* (probably only in those which are monosyllabic and contain a short vowel). It analogically replaced the original **tt* suffix in most of the cases; but at least in disyllabic verbs like *kaḍi* (*kaḍi-d-*) 'to bite' : Ta. *kaṭi* (*kaṭi-it-*), Ka. *d* < **tt* seems to be the regular phonotic development, of· Ka. *mara-d-* oblique base of *mara* 'tree' : Ta. Ma. *mara-tt-* oblique base of *maram*. The -*d*- which thus corresponds to all the three original dental suffixes and got a wider distribution has been analogically added to the -*i*- suffix also. Note that in the historical period of Kannaḍa earlier forms like *kēḷd-* (past stem of *kēḷ* 'to hear, ask') were later changed to *kēḷid-* by

the introduction of the anaptyctic vowel *i*. Burrow and Bhattacharya (1964 : 260) also gave the same type of explanation : "The distinction between the two conjugations was lessened in Kannaḍa by importing the *-d-* of conjugation I into conjugation II, which then had the preterite base in *-id-* (*māḍidenu*)".

In Old Telugu and Koṇḍa-Kui-Kuvi, the suffix **tt*(> *t*) has combined with the **i*, producing *-*itt*-. Since the other Central languages seems to have lost the *i* in this at a later stage, it seems probable that this innovation took place in the PCDr. stage itself. It is however certain that the suffix *-*tt*- gained currency in this group at the expense of **t* and **nt*.. Telugu has extremely simplified its past tense formation by extending the suffix *-it-* to all verbs excepting a few of the type (C)V*nu*.

In Telugu, however, the *t* suffix is found only in the 1st and 2nd person forms and has not been extended to the 3rd person forms. These contain only -i-, e.g., *cepp-i-ri* 'they (hum.) told'. The *-e-* in the other third person form can be analysed as the combination of *i* and *a*, e.g. *cepp-e-nu* < **cepp-i-(y)anu* 'he/she/it/they (neut.) told'. Note that in verbs of the type (C)VCV both *enu* and *iyenu* are in free variation, e.g., *an-enu*/*an-iyenu* 'he/she/it/they (neut.) said'. The *i* in *iyenu* is formed the **i* suffix and the *enu* may be connected with the *cāriyai -an-* in Old Tamil; the *y* may be a glide in origin and it is responsible for the change of *a* to *e*.

The past tense construction in modern spoken Telugu is a contraction of the original syntactic construction containing

the past adverb plus the pronouns, e.g., *cepp-ε̄-nu/cepp-in-ānu* 'I told' is from earlier *cepp-in-a vā̃ḍanu* 'I who told'. It is notable that the Old Telugu forms are fairly well preserved in the Telugu dialects of Tamilnadu.

Telugu and Tamil (in verbs of 5th conjugation) agree in showing *n* after *i* in the past adjective and the conditional and therefore **n* seems to have a long standing in these forms It is to be suspected that in Tamil the *n* from these forms was later extended to the finite forms analogically. A parallel for such a development is found in the past tense forms with the -ε̄- suffix in modern Telugu which seem to have derived from original past adjective forms plus the personal suffixes.

Tuḷu has two tenses for the past, namely, immediate past (imperfect) and distant past (perfect). The following examples will show that the immediate past is the continuation of the original past tense (of course, with some redistribution of the allomorphs) and that the distant past is an innovation in Tuḷu.

Tuḷu I.P.	Tuḷu D.P.	Tamil
kal-t-e	*kal-tīd-e*	*ka-ṟṟ-āṉ* (< *kal-tt-āṉ*) 'he learnt'
kā-t-e	*kā-tīd-e*	*kā-tt-āṉ* 'he waited'
tāṅgi-y-e	*tāṅgi-d-e*	*tāṅk-iy-a* 'he supported(Tu.), 'that supported(Ta.)'
āḍi-y-e	*āḍ-d-e*	*āṭ-iya* 'he moved (Tu.), that moved (Ta.)'
ba-tt-e	*ba-ttid-e*	*va-nt-āṉ* 'he came'

Tuḷu		Tamil
I.P.	D.P.	
tin-d-e	*tin-t-e*	*tin̲-r̲-ān̲* (< **tin̲-t-ān̲*) 'he ate'
uṇ-ḍ-e	*uṇ-d-e*	*uṇ-ṭ-ān̲* (< **uṇ-t-ān̲*) 'he ate/took meals'

It is clear from the above examples that in Tuḷu (i) *-t-* < *-t-*-tt-*, **-nt-*, (ii) *-y-* < **-i-*, (iii) *-d-/-ḍ-* < **-nt-/-ṇṭ-* in the immediate past. Though this involves simplification of the original past tense allomorphs, the distinction between the **-i-* allomorph and the other three dental allomorphs is clearly maintained in Tuḷu. On the other hand, Kannaḍa, which also shows such simplification, analogically extended the dental allomorph to the class of verbs that was originally having the past allomorph **-i-* (see above). From this it can be concluded that the Tuḷu past tense structure as a whole resembles that of South Dravidian (which is a retentian in it) and that in the details of the simplification of the original system, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa are independent of each other.

Eventhough it is certain that the distant past tense developed from the immediate past the actual process of this development is not clear at present. However, it is likely that the distant past is in origin a periphrastic construction involving the past adverbial participle and the (immediate) past tense of the substantive verb *uppu* 'to be' (immediate past forms are *i-tt-ɛ*, etc. cf. Ta. *iru-nt-ēn̲* 'I was', etc.)

2.27. *-c-.

Many of the Dravidian languages belonging to all the three main subgroups contain traces of the *-c- past suffix. In *Caṅkam* Tamil the suffix *ci<u>n</u>* (with the variant *ici<u>n</u>* occurring after past stems ending in a consonant) occurs mainly in the 1st person sg. and 3rd person sg. past finite forms, in the 2nd person sg. imperative and in the 3rd person past nominals with the pronominal suffixes *-ō<u>n</u>* (m. sg.), *-ōḷ* (f. sg) and *-ōr* (hum. pl.). In all such forms, the suffix *ci<u>n</u>* occurs after the past stems that are formed according to the usual method. (For material on this suffix, see A. Sathasivam 1958 : 140-0; for comparative discussion, Emeneau 1957 : 39-56; Krishnamurti 1961, §§ 2.39-46; 84-90.) Ex.:

1 sg. *e<u>n</u><u>r</u>ici<u>n</u>* 'I said.'
kaṇṭici<u>n</u> 'I saw.'
kēṭṭici<u>n</u> 'I asked, heard.'
vantici<u>n</u> 'I come.'
uvantici<u>n</u> 'I enjoyed.'
ma<u>r</u>antici<u>n</u> 'I forget.'
paṭarntici<u>n</u> 'I went'

3 sg m. *ce<u>n</u><u>r</u>ici<u>n</u>* 'He went.'
pe<u>r</u> <u>r</u> ici<u>n</u> 'He obtained.'
f. *pe<u>r</u> <u>r</u>ici<u>n</u>* 'She obtained.'
n. *pō<u>n</u><u>r</u>ici<u>n</u>* 'It resembled.'

Past nominals

m. *pukaḻnticinō<u>n</u>* 'The woman that pented.'
f. *pirinticinōḷ* 'Those that saw.'
hum. pl. *kaṇṭici<u>n</u>ōr* 'Those that saw.'

maṟanticiṉōr 'Those that forget.'
paṭaitticiṉōr 'Those that obtained.'
ceṉṟiciṉōr 'Those that went.'

Imperative 2 *sg*.

kaṇṭiciṉ 'See!'
kēṭṭiciṉ 'Listen/Ask!'
vanticiṉ 'Come!'
cūḻnticiṉ 'Think!'
terinticiṉ 'Know!'

The *c* in the suffix *-ciṉ* may be connected to the *-*c*- past suffix (the *i* that precedes *c* is simply an anaptyctic vowel since it does not occur after past stems ending in *i*, e.g. *munticiṉōr* 'those who went before'). The *-in* that follows the *c* may be the same as the past suffix *-in* that occurs after verbs of the 5th conjugation; it cannot be a pronominal suffix since in the past nominals it is followed by the regular pronominal suffixes.

In Kota the *c* suffix appears after the past stem in the irrealis paradigm. "Since this corresponds in formation to the Toda past tense, it is in all probability to be interpreted as a specialized development of a past tense with the sibilant suffix that we are considering" (so Emeneau 1957 : 45) In Toda there are two sibilant suffixes with different allomorphs, one for the past gerund and the other for the past tense. "In South Dravidian proper, Toda (and possibly Kota with its secondary development) is the only language which retains in full working order as part of the past tense formation the sibilant suffix that must surely be reconstructed as past of the

past tense apparatus for Proto-Dravidian' (so Emeneau 1957 : 45-6.)

In all the Central Dravidian languages excepting Kolami, a class of verbs contain *-*ci* (or its variants *-si* or *ji*) as the suffix of the past adverb; in Goṇḍi–Koṇḍa-Pengo it has been extended to all verbs (see 2.31) The *c* in this suffix is also from the *-*c*- past suffix.[4]

According to Krishnamurti (1961 §§ 2.41-46), some verbs ending in the derivative suffixes *-su* in Kannada and Tulu and *-cu* in Tamil-Malayalam incorporated the *c* past suffix into the base since forms without those suffixes are found elsewhere, e.g.

(i) Ta. *alacu.* 'to shake' Ka. *alacu*, *alasu*, Tu. *alacu* 'to shake (204; cf. Ta. alai 'to shake', Te. *alayu* 'to be tired').

(ii) Ta. *uraicu*, *uracu*, *uriñcu-* Ma. *urasu*, K. *orasu*, Tu. *oresu* 'to rub' Kui. *rūs-* 'to crush, grind' (572; cf. Ta. *urai*, Te. *orayu* 'id.')

(iii) Ka. *nelasu* 'to became established' (3033; cf. Ta. *nilai*).

The following examples also give evidence for the same process (see also Krishnamurti 1961, 2.89-90). (i) Kol.

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4. Though Caldwell (1866 : 507) has observed *-si* (or/*-ji*) in the Goṇḍi past adverbial participle he explained it as "apparently softened from **ti*. The credit of first recognising *c* as a distinct past suffix goes to Jules Bloch; but he also inclined to derive it from a dental admitting that "the facts are too intricate to venture to conclude anything (1954 : 69)."

ars-, NK. *ars-*, Pa. *narc-*, Ga. (Oll.) *nars-*, (S) *narc-* 'to fear' (2980; cf. Ta. Ka *araḷ* 'fear'). (ii) Pa. *kirc-* 'to scratch' Kur. *kherc-* 'to rub off' Malt. *qurc-* 'to scrape' (1305; cf. Ta *cirai* 'to shave') (iii) Kur. Malt. *elc-* 'to fear' (730; cf. Ta. *eḷcu*)

Kurukh, Malto and Brahui show the *c* past suffix (along with *k*) in the finite forms of some verbs. In such cases it can be reconstructed to the Proto-North Dravidian stage (note that the *s* in Br. *bis-* (4445) was the past suffix in origin).

i)	Kur. *khe-*	'to die'		*ke-cc-*
	Malt. *key-*	"		*ke-c-*
	Br. *ka?-*	"		PN Dr. **ke-c-* (2002)
ii)	Kur. *ci?-*	"		*ci-cc-*
	Malt. *ciy-*	"		*ci-c-*
			PNDr.	**ci-c-* (2138)
iii)	Kur. *il-*	'to get up'		*il-c-*
	ijj-	'to stand on end'		*ijj-*
	Malt. *il-*	'to stand'		*i-j-*
			PNDr.	**il-c-* (3043)
iv)	Kur. *man-*	'to become'		*man-j-*
	Malt. *men-*	"		
	Br *mann-*	"		*ma-ss-*[5]
			PNDr.	**man-j-*(3914)

5. Emeneau (1962), § 3.23) equates Br. *ma-ss-* with Proto-Gonḍi-Kui, Pa. Ga. **maṟṟ* (which should be from PDr **manṟ*, cf. Te. *maṇṭi*). Since the change of **nr* to *rr* in Gonḍi-Kui in the past stems of the verbs ending in *n* or *l* is a special development in that group and since the Kurukh past stem contains *-j-*, it seem to be more proper to connect the *s* in this forms of Brahui also to the **-c-* past suffix.

v)	Kur. *bar–* 'to come'		*bar-c–*
	Malt. *bar–* "		*bar–c–*
	Br. *bann–* "		*ba–ss–*
		PNDr.	**bar-c–* (4311)
vi)	Kur. *men–* 'to hear, ask'		*men–j–*
	Malt. *men–* "		*men–j–*
	Br. *bin–* "		*bin–g–*
		PNDr.	**men–j–* (4472)
vii)	Kur. *bi* 'to be cooked'		*bi-cc-*
	Malt. *bic-* "		
	Br. *bis–* 'to be baked'		*bis–is–*
		PNDr.	**bi-c–* (4540)

2.28. **-kk–*

It has been observed in the descriptive study that Kuru<u>kh</u> and Malto contain the past suffix *-k–* in the finite forms of the 1st and 2nd person forms; in addition the past adjective in Kuru<u>kh</u> also contains the suffix *kā* (probably in this the *–k–* is the past suffix and the *–ā–* the adjective suffix). In Brahui also, the past suffix *-k–* (with variant *–g–* after a nasal) occurs in few verbs. This shows that the *–kk–* past suffixes in some verbs at least goes back to the Proto–North Dravidian stage (Emeneau 1962 63)

Only very few traces of this suffix occur in the other subgroups. It is not certain whether the Kota past tense suffix *v* and its variant *k* (also Toda *p*) are related to this. In South Dravidian, verbs of the type (C)V*ku* have past stems of the type (C)V*k-k–*. eg. Ta. Ma, *naku* (*nak–k-*), Ka. *nagu* (*nak-k–*) 'to laugh' (2944). Telugu also has evidence

for this type of past stem formation in two instance (see § 2). The *-k-* in such SDr. forms may not be related to the **-kk-* past suffix since in all probability this formation developed in South Dravidian (and Telugu) on the analogy of the past stem formation in verbs of the types (C) V *ṭu/ṟu* with past stems of the type (C)V*ṭ-ṭ-/ṟ-ṟ-* which go back to Proto-Dravidian (see § 2.24).

The negative adverbs in Telugu, Gonḍi, Kui, Kuvi and Parji Gadba contain the suffix *-aka* (Go. *vāk*); *-k-* in this may be the past suffix in origin (in the later stages of SDr. the negative suffix is similarly followed by a past suffix, see Subrahmanyam 1969 b, § 8). If this connection is correct, the **-kk-* past suffix also goes back to the PDr. stage. Still it has a very limited distribution in the whole family.

2.29. **-n-*

Four languages, namely, Tamil, old Malayalam, Telugu and Parji have evidence for an **n* past suffix Tamil and Malayalam contain *-iṉ-* as a past suffix in stop ending verbs (other than those of the (C)VC*u* type) In addition *Caṅkam* Tamil contains past tense forms with *cāriyai -aṉ-* occuring after a past stem formative (other than *-iṉ-*) and before pronominal suffixes which begining with a short vowel and also before *-tu*, e.g. *kaṇ-ṭ-aṉ-eṉ*. 'I saw', *va-nt-aṉ-ar* 'they (hum) came', *kaṇ-ṭ-aṉ-em* 'we saw' *toḻu-t-aṉ-am* 'we worshipped', *iru-nt-aṉ-ir* 'you (pl.) stayed', *aḻu-t-aṉ-aḷ* 'she wept', *viḻ-nt-aṉ-ṟu* 'it fell', *va-nt-aṉ-ṟu* 'it came', *iḻa-nr-aṉ-a* they (neut.) lost', *pō-ṉṟ-aṉ-a* 'they (neut.) resembled'. According to Ramaswami Aiyar (1938:756–9)

forms with *-aṉ-* occur predominantly in *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, *Patiṟṟuppattu* and *Pattuppāṭṭu.* Since it occurs only in the past tense forms we may consider the *ṉ* in it as a past suffix. In old Malayalam texts, *aṉ* is found preceded by the past stem formative in past adjectives (see Ramaswami Aiyar 1936 : 82). The *Caṅkam* Tamil past expletive *-ciṉ* also contains this. Telugu shows this suffix in past adjectives, e.g. *cepp-in-a* 'that told' and negative adjectives, e.g. *cepp-an-i* 'that did/does/will not tell', Parji shows *n* past stem formative in a few verbs, e.g. *aṛ-n-ed* 'she wept'. The occurrence of *ṉ* individually in *Caṅkam* Tamil *cāriyai -aṉ-* and in the negative adjectives of Telugu and in the Parji past stems along with its absence in past adverbs (which contain *i* alone) of Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu is a strong case for considering *n* as a separate past tense suffix, *-iṉ-* will, then, be a complex of two past suffixes *i+n*, like *i+t* in Telugu, Koṇḍa-Kui-Kuvi, *c+i* in the past adverbs of Central Dravidian and *c+k* in some verbs in Kurukh̲-Malto.

2.30.

PAST ADVERB: The adverbial participle is a construction that is peculiar to Dravidian. In South Dravidian the past stem (followed by the enunciative *u* if ending in a consonant) itself functions as the past adverb. In stop-ending verbs the past suffix is simply *i* (without the following *ṉ*). It is extended by *-ṯ* in Kota, a sibilant in Toda and by *-itī* in Koḍagu. The origin of these forms is not clear at present; but it is to be suspected that these may be originally past adverbs of some auxiliary verb, cf. the common occurrence of *viṭṭu*, past

adverb of *viṭu* 'to leave' with the past adverbial form of the main verb in colloquial Tamil.

In the North Dravidian group Brahui lost all non- finite past forms. The past adverb with the suffix *-ār* in Kuru<u>kh</u> seems to be adopted form Hindi in which the conjunctive participles are formed with *kar*, e g. *jā kar* 'having gone'. It is not certain whether the *-i* in the past adverbs of Malto is from the **i* past suffix; no explanation is available for the other alternant with the suffix *-le* in this language. However, Malto *oṇṭi* 'having drunk' may be compared with Ta. *uṇ-ṭu* 'having eaten drunk' ; this suggests that at least in the earlier stages of NDr. the past adverbs were constructed in a similar way as their counterparts in SDr. The influence of Indo-Aryan seems to be responsible for the loss of original past adverbs in the NDr. group.

In Central Dravidian, Kolami and Naiki employ the past stem as the past adverb as in South Dravidian. But all the other Dr. languages have two principal allomorphs i. e., **-i* and **-ci* for the past adverbial suffix (note that the Kui adverb ends in *a* only before *man-* 'to be' and a few other forms and elsewhere ends in *i* as its counterparts in the other CDr. languages; *i* might have changed to *a* in the above cases due to vowel harmony). Of the two variants, **-i* and **-ci*, **-i* represents the PDr. **i* past suffix that occurs after stop-ending heavy bases although in CDr. It has been extended to some other verbs also. The other variant **-ci* is an innovation in this group. Krishnamurti (1961; §§ 2.46, 4.47) suggests that it is originally a combination of the two past tense morphemes **c* and **i* and observes that although the **c*

suffix occurs throughout the whole family, "the occurrence of *-*ci* as the past-participal morpheme characterizes only the CDr. languages. In the majority of the Gondi dialects excepting Koya, and in Koṇḍa and Pengo the reflexes of *-*ci* have been extended to all verbs at the expense of **i;* it is not certain whether it is a share innovation in them (note that in verbs ending in *s* in Koṇḍa, the the addition of *si* to them results in **ssi* and one of the two *s*'s is automatically dropped).

Telugu contains numerous verbs with the derivative suffix *-cu* (or *-acu*) and in most of such cases the other languages do not have the palatal suffix, e.g.

> *vaccu* 'to come' (Ta. Ma *varu*, 4311), *iccu* 'to give' Ta. *ī*, 2138), *nilucu* 'to stand' (Ta Ma. *nil*, 3043), *naḍacu* 'to walk' Ta. Ma. *naṭa*, 2957), *pilucu* 'to call' (Ta. *viḷi*, 4460) *ēḍcu* 'to cry' (Ta. Ma. *aḻu*, 240).

Krishnamurti (1961; § § 2.84-87) has proved that in all such cases, "where Te. alone has *C* correspoding to zero of the other languages, it should be taken as originally a part of the participial morpheme *-*ci*, of which the *c*- element is wrongly incorporated into the base, "He finds supporting evidence for this conclusion in the fact that the derivational *-cu* changes into *-v-* before all back-vowel suffixes (i.e., non-past and non-present), e.g. *nilucu* 'to stand' : past part. *nilici* (ef. Go. *nil-sī*) infinitive *niluv-a*, neg. adv. *niluv-aka*, imp. 2 sg. *nil-umu* / *niluv-umu*, The *v* in such forms is probably a glide in origin. The base without *-cu* and also without the *v* glide occurs in a few verbs before the negative and the imperative

suffixes, e g. the imperative forms like *pil-umu* 'call!' (: *pilucu*) *nil-umu* 'stand!' (: *nilucu*) '*ra-mmu* come' (: *vaccu*), *le-mmu* 'get up!' (: *lēcu*) (*Balavyakaraṇamu, kriyāpari chēdamu*, sutra 101). This also shows that the *-cu* does not originally belong to the base. Krishnamurti (ibid : 164) further adds : "The present tense is historically a later innovation in Te., and is actually a compound construction formed with the verb *un-* 'to be'. It is therefore likely that the *c-* stem, wrongly separated from the past tense forms, later formed the basis of the present tense." It is to be noted that the predominance of the *i* allomorph, e.g. *cepp-i* 'having told', *tin-i* 'having eaten' was responsible for the wrong segmentation in the forms which originally contained the **ci* allomorph, e.g.

> Te. *vaccu* 'to come', past part. *vacc-i* (cf. Go. *vā-* 'to come', past part. *vā-sī*).
>
> Te. *iccu* 'to give', past part. *icc-i* (cf. Go. *sī-* 'to give' past part. *sī-sī*).
>
> Te. *nil(u)cu* 'to stand', past part. *nilic-i* (cf. Go. *nil-* 'to stand', past part. *nil-sī*)

Similarly the past adverbs of *yu-* ending verbs in Telugu also originally contain the *-si* allomorph (variant of *-ci*), e g. *kōs-i* (:*kōyu* 'to pluck, cut'): *Go-koy-sī*, *cēs-i* (: *cēyu* 'to do'): Go. *kī-sī* (: *mēyu* to graze'): Go. *mēy-sī* etc. (see Krishnamurti 1961, § § 2.4346). Although descriptively *i* has to be taken as in others positing the sandhi rule *y - - - s*/- Front vowel, the related forms in Gondi rule and the other CDr. languages show that *-si* is the suffix in them. In Telugu the *y* has been dropped to avoid the non-permitted cluster *ys*

and consequently the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened. In Old Telugu, but not in colloquial Telugu, the long vowel has analogically replaced the short vowel before suffixes beginning with a vowel (see Subrahmanyam, 1970).

The Gondi-Kui group of languages have *-ji* as the allomorph of *-ci* after verbs ending in *n* or *l* (preceded by a short vowel). Since in Telugu and Parji-Gadba the corresponding verbs have the suffix *-i*, this may be considered as a shared innovation in the Gondi-Kui group.

	Te.	Go.	Ko.	Pe.	Kui	Kuvi	
	an-i	*in-ji*	*in-zi*	*in-ji*	*in-ja*	*in-ja*	'having said'
Pa.	*un-i)*	*un-jī*	*uṇ-zi*	*uṇ-ji*	*uṇ-ja*	*un-ja*	'having drunk'
	tin-i	*tin-ji*	*tin-zi*	*tin-ji*	*tin-ja*	*tin-ja*	'having eaten'
	man-i	*man-jī*	*man-zi*	*man-ji*	*man-ja*	*man-ja*	'having stayed'
	can-i	*son-jī*	*son-zi*	*hal-ji*	*sa-ja*	*ha-ja*	'having gone'
	vin-i		*ven-zi*	*ven-ji*	*ven-ja*	*ven-ja*	'having heard'

Te. *vacci*, Go. *vāsī*, Koya *vāsī*, Koṇḍa *vāzi*, Pe. *vāzi*, Kui *vāja*, Kuvi *vāha*, Pa. *veri*, Ga. *vari* 'having come'

Te. *tecci*, Go. *taacī*, Koya *tacci*, Koṇḍa *tasi*, Pe. *tahi*, Kui *tasa* 'having brought'

Te. *icci*, Go. *sīsī*, Koya *īsi*, Koṇḍa *sīzi*, Pe. *hīzi*, Kui *sīa*, Kuvi *hīha*, Pa. *ciyi* 'having given'

Te. *cūci*, Go. *sūṛsī*, Koya *ūḍi*, Koṇḍa *suṛzi*, Pe. *huṛzi*, Kui *sūṛa*, Pa. *cūṛi*, Ga. *sūṛi* 'having seen'

Te. *cēsi*, Go. *kīsī*, Koṇḍa *kizi*, Pe. *kizi*, Kui *gia* 'having done'

Te. *nil(i)ci*, Go. *nilsī*, Koya *nicci*, Koṇḍa *nil-si*, Pe. *nilci*, Pa. *nilci* 'having stood'

Go. *tohcī*, Koṇḍa *tōr-zi*, Pe. *tōcci*, Kui *tōssa*, Kuvi *tōssa* 'having shown'

Syntactically the past adverb denotes an action done prior to the action denoted by the finite verb in a sentence. Theoretically a sentence may contain any number of past adverbs but sentences with not more than three are quite common.

Ta. *avaṉ cōṟu cāppiṭṭu pōṉāṉ.*
Ma. *avan bakṣaṇam kaḻiccə pōyi.*
Ka. *avanu ūṭa māḍi (hōda*(nu.))
Tu. *āye uṇḍiti pōye*
Te. *vāḍu annam tini veḷḷɛ̄ḍu.*
'He ate food and went.'

In a few cases it also denotes "reason" for the action denoted by the finite verb.

Ta. *avaṉ vēlai ceytu kaḷaittuppōṉāṉ.*
Ma. *avan jōli ceytə kṣīṇiccu.*
Ka. *avanu kelasa māḍi āyāsagoṇḍa* (nu)
Tu. *āye bēlɛ māḷti bacciye* (or)
'Having done work, he became tired'.
Te. *vāḍu pani cēsi alisipōyāḍu.*
'He worked and (therefore) become tired.'

Sometimes it denotes the manner or mode in which the action denoted by the finite verb is accomplished (for details see Ch. Rama Rao, "A study of Dravidian *ktvārthaka*").

Ta. *avan̲ naṭantu pōn̲ān̲.*
Ma. *avan naṭannə pōyi.*
Ka. *avanu naḍedu hōda (nu)*
Tu. *āye nadatti/naḍattoṇtu pōye*
Te. *vāḍu naḍici veḷḷēḍu.*
'He went on foot (lit. having walked, he went)'

2.31.

PAST ADJECTIVE : This form is found in all the languages excepting Brahui and in that language its loss seems to be a later development. It is formed by adding to the past stem the adjective marker **a/ *i.* While the adjective marker is *a* in the majority of the languages, *i* appears in Tuḷu and in Koṇḍa-Pengo-Manḍa-Kui-Kuvi (but not Gondi). Since Tuḷu, which belongs to SDr. is not otherwise closer to the Koṇḍa-Kuvi group, it should be concluded that **i* also goes back to. PDr. and that it has been independently retained by these two groups. Probably **a* and **i* have been dialectal variants at the PDr. stage. Telugu also retains the *i* suffix in the negative adjective see § 4.).

Although the suffix *-ina* in Telugu cannot be segmented further, the comparative study of Tamil and Telugu reveals that the *in* in it is the past suffix and *a* the adjective marker, e.g.

Ta.	Te.	
āṭ-in̲-a	*āḍ-ina*	'that played'

pāṭ-iṉ-a *pāḍ-ina* 'that sang/was sung'
kalaṅk-iṉ-a *kalāg-ina* 'that was disturbed'

While the sequence *-ina* appears in Tamil only after heavy bases ending in stops, it occurs in Telugu in all verbs due to analogical spread. However, in Telugu three disyllabic verbs ending in *ḍu*, i.e *paḍu* 'to fall', *iḍu* 'to put' *ceḍu* 'to be spoiled' and one in *gu*, i.e. *tagu* 'to be suitable' have alternative forms in the past adjective (and the conditional) showing the doubling of *ḍ* or *g* followed by *a* e.g. *paḍḍ-a*/ *paḍ-ina* *iḍḍ-a*/ *iḍ-ina*, *ceḍḍ-a*/*ceḍ-ina* (conditionals *paḍḍ-an*/ *paḍ-inan* etc.) and *tag-g-a*/ *tag-ina*. A comparison of these with the forms in the SDr. languages, e.g. Ta. *paṭ-ṭ-a*, *iṭ-ṭ-a*, *keṭ-ṭ-a*, *tak-k-a* (conditionals *paṭ-ṭ-āl*, etc.) shows that the Telugu forms *paḍḍa* etc. show the process of doubling the base final consonant (which is morphophonemically base final consonant + *t*) and are retentions from the original stage. The alternant forms with *-ina* are clearly analogical. On the other hand, *tinna*, *konna*, etc., which are the alternant forms of the past adjectives *tin-ina*, *kon-ina* etc. of *tinu* 'to eat', *konu* 'to buy' (and other verbs containing a short vowel and ending in *nn*) are formed by the dropping of the *i* vowel between two *n*'s and have no historical significance (cf. *Bālavyākraṇamu*, *kriyāpariccbōdamu*, sutra 51).

In *Caṅkam* Tamil and Malayalam we find past adjectives with *iya*: the *y* in this is a glide between the past suffix *i* and the adjective suffix *a*. In Koḍagu both *īnë* and *iyë* occur in free variation. Since *i* is followed by *n* only in post-*Caṅkam* Tamil, Koḍagu and Telugu and it itself occurs

in the other SDr. languages, Ta. Ma. Koḍ *iya* may be taken to represent the older stage when *i* was not associated with *n* or with any other past suffix.

Even in the CDr. languages in which the past stem does not function as the past adverb, the past stem serves as the basis for the formation of the past adjective.

In Kota the participial noun takes over the function of the original past adjective.

In Kuru<u>kh</u> and Malto the past adjective contains the *-k-* past suffix (as do the finite forms in them) followed by the adjective marker. It is remarkable that this form also shows the normal structure: Base + Past suffix + Adjective suffix although the past suffix in it does not correspond to the past suffixes in SDr. and CDr.

The noun qualified by the verbal adjective in Dravidian can have any kind of case relationship with the verb in the deep structure. In addition to nouns, a verbal adjective can qualify certain adverbs meaning "at the time (of)". "afterwards", "before", "until" "immediately", etc. (see Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970 : 93).

2.32.

CONDITIONAL AND CONCESSIVE: In Old Tamil and old Malayalam, the conditional is formed by adding to the verb base the suffix *-iṉ* (Old Ta; later Ta and Old Ma. *-il*). The conditional suffix *-ēṅgi* in Koḍagu which was < **eṉ-kil,* the conditional of the verb *en-* 'to say' also preserves this type.

The more common type of the formation of the conditional is the addition of the conditional suffix to the past stem of a verb. Although this type is represented by many SDr. and CDr. languages, the conditional suffix cannot be uniformly reconstructed to proto-Dravidian. However, the Tamil-Malayalam suffix *-āl* and *an* in the Old Telugu conditional suffix *-inan* may be connected, cf. Ta. *pāṭ-iṉ-āl* : Te. *pāḍ-in-an* 'if (subject) sings'. This coincidence between Old Telugu and Tamil-Malayalam probably indicates that + *-āl* may be PDr. conditional suffix. In Telugu *-inam* has been extended to all verbs due to the simplication of the past tense structure in it. The Old Telugu conditional (and concessive) form survives in modern Telugu only in the concessive sense. The modern Telugu conditional is originally a periphrastic construction and is the development of the 2nd person sg. past tense form + *ēni* 'if' of Old Telugu, e.g. Mdn. Te. *cēstē* 'if (one) does' Old Te. 2 sg. past *cēs-it-i(vi)* + *ēni* : if you(sg.) do'. In Old Telugu *ēni* was occurring after all finite forms of all tenses to give the conditional meaning (see K. Mahadeva Sastri 1969 : 240-41).

The formation of the conditional in the Gondi-Kui group is noteworthy. Go. *-ēkē* and Kui *-eka* related to each other. It is uncertain whether Koṇḍa *-iṅa* is relatable to them. Pengo *-is* and Kuvi *-ihi*/*-ihe* seem to be interrelated.

The concessive is formed in all languages by adding the word meaning 'also' (also the copula **um* in Ta. Ma. and Ka.) to the conditional.

2.33. Conclusion

1. The system of past tense formation in the Tamil-Koḍagu group with the four allomorphs of the past tense morpheme, *t, *nt, *tt and *i represent the original system.

2. In Kannada *t, *nt (except after (V–) and *tt have fallen together as *d* and this *d* has analogically appeared after the *i* suffix also.

3. Although Tuḷu also has simplified the original system, still it maintains the distinction between the class of verbs that originally took *i (>Tu. *y*) and the other classes. In this respect it agrees with the other SDr. languages.

4. Palatalization of the dental suffixes after verbs ending in *i* or *y* and the introduction of the intransitive-transitive distinction into the suffixes *nt and *tt are two shared innovations in the Tamil-Koḍagu group.

5. The Central Dravidian group simplified the original past tense structure to a great extent. The suffix *–it–* that occurs in Old Telugu, Koṇḍa and Kui-Kuvi is a combination of two original past suffixes *i and *tt. *–itt– probably goes back to PCDr. and the *i* in it is lost in the CDr. languages other than Telugu, Koṇḍa and Kui-Kuvi.

6. The past adverbial suffix *ci is a common innovation in CDr. (except Kolami-Naiki). It represents two original past suffixes *c and *i. It has been extended to verbs ending in *n* in the Gonḍi-Kui group. It spread to all verbs at the expense of *i in Gonḍi, Koṇḍa and Pengo.

7. The adjective marker in the past adjective has to be reconstructed as having two forms **i* (retained in Tuḷu, Koṇḍa-Kuvi) and **a* (in other languages). These may be dialectal variants in Proto-Dravidian.

8. The NDr. group is characterized by the common use of the **-kk-* past suffix, the traces of which occur also in Telugu, Gondi, Parji and Gadba.

3.

NON-PAST SUFFIXES

3.0. Introduction

A comparative study of the various non-past tense forms in the Dravidian languages reveals that the formation of the present tense as distinct from the future tense is a later development in the family. The suffixes that are employed for the formation of the present tense in many of the languages are historically relatable to the future tense suffixes found in the same language or in some other sister language, witness the present tense suffixes in Tuḷu (§ 3.7) and Kolami (§ 3.15). Further, in a good number of languages, the present tense is a periphrastic construction. While considerable similarity is displayed in the formation of the future tense, the present tense is formed in diverse ways in the sister languages even within the close-knit subgroups. The obvious inference from such a situation is that in the proto-stage there was only one tense, which may called non-past, for expressing both the present and the future meaning and that the emergence of the present tense as a distinct category in the individual languages is a later development.[1]

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1. Caldwell (1856 : 446) has already observed : "There is reason to suspect, also, that originally it (i.e. 'the normal Dravidian verb') had no present tense but only a future and a past."

On the other hand, the future tense is used in the habitual sense also in almost all the languages. So, we may safely conclude that in Proto-Dravidian there were only two (affirmative) tenses, namely, the past and the non-past, the latter being used for present, future and habitual events.

DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

3.1. **Tamil**

(i) PRESENT TENSE: In post-*Caṅkam* literature the present tense suffix is *-kiṉṟ-*; it has a variant *-kiṟ-* which according to Subrahmanya Sastri (1934 : 170) "is not generally found in Tamil classics upto the 12th century". There is only a solitary instance for this in *Paripāṭal*(22.35) of the *Caṅkam* literature, i.e. *cēr-kiṉṟ-a* 'that which is joining'; excepting this there is no other instance for this suffix in the whole of the *Caṅkam* literature. It occurs in several instances in *Cilappatikāram* e.g. *ōcaṉi-kkiṉṟ-a* 'which is trying to leave', *ūr-kiṉṟ-a* 'that which is spreading', *uruḷ-kiṉṟ-a* 'that which is rolling' and in *Maṇimēkalai*, e.g. *cāti-kkiṉṟ-a* (29-299) 'that which is establishing'. It is to be noted that in these early classics this suffix occurs only in the adjectival participle and that finite forms with it became common only by the time of the hymns of the *Śaivites* and the *Āḻvārs* (7-8 century). The Tamil grammar of the eleventh century, *Vīracōḻiyam* mentions this as the present tense suffix; according to this grammar, *-kiṉṟ-* occurs before 3rd epicene pl., neut. sg. and neut. pl. suffixes and *-kiṟ-* elsewhere (see Shanmugam 1969 : 75). In the present-day written Tamil *-kiṉṟ-* and *-kiṟ-* freely vary with

each other in all environments except before the 3rd neut. pl. suffix where *-kiṉṟ-* alone occurs.

cey- 'to do'

1.	*cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-ēṉ*	*cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-ōm*
2.	*cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-āy*	*cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-īr(kaḷ)*
3 m.	*cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-āṉ*	*cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-ār(kaḷ)*
f.	*cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-āḷ*	
n.	*cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-atu*	*cey-kiṉṟ-aṉa*

In colloquial Tamil original *-kiṉṟ-* in weak verbs is reduced to *-r-* and original *-kkiṉṟ-* in strong verbs to *-kr-* e.g. *cey-r-ẽ* < *cey-ki(ṉ)ṟ-ēṉ* 'I am doing', *pā-kr-ẽ* < *pār-kki(ṉ)ṟ-ēṉ* 'I am seeing'. In the colloquial language it is often used in the future tense meaning also.

In the Middle Tamil period the periphrastic construction containing a verb base followed by the suffix *ā* plus the past tense forms of one of the three verbs *nil* 'to stand', *kiṭa* 'to lie down' and *iru* 'to be' also is used to express the present tense meaning. According to Subrahmanya Sastri (1934 : 170) the form with the *ā* suffix in such constructions is an "affirmative indeclinable participle" and a modified form of the participle with the *ū* suffix. (It is to be noted that the authors of the grammars, *Naṉṉūl* and *Vīracōḻiyam* consider forms like *ceyyāniṉṟāṉ* 'he is doing' as constituting single words and take *-āniṉr-* in them as the present tense suffix but the commentator on *Vīracōḻiyam, Peruntēvaṉār* and *Cēṉāvaraiyar*, a commentator on *Tolkāppiyam* recognise them as two different words).

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: Before the suffixes of 1st sg., 1st pl., 2nd sg. 2nd pl. and 3rd hum-pl. the suffix in weak verbs is *-p-* after verbs ending in a nasal and *-v-* before others and in strong verbs the suffix is *-pp-* (note *l*/*ḷ* + *pp* → *ṟp*/*ṭp*). In *Caṅkam* Tamil the suffix *-um* occurs (in strong verbs it is preceded by the formative suffix *-kk-*) in the forms of 3rd m. sg., f. sg., n. sg. and n pl. without being followed by any overt personal suffixes[2] In later Tamil forms with *-um* have been restricted only to neut. sg. and neut pl. and in 3rd m sg. and f. sg. the suffix *-v-* (∞ *-pp-*) appears followed by regular personal endings. Further, in a class of verbs the alternation between *-v-* (∞ *-um*) and *-pp-* (∞ *-kkum*) signifies an alternation in the meaning, i.e. intransitive and transitive respectively, e.g. *cēr-v-ēṉ* 'I will reach' *versus* *cēr-pp-ēṉ* 'I will cause (another) to reach', *cēr-um* 'it will reach' *versus cēr-kkum* 'it will cause (another) to reach' etc. (see § 1.28.)

cey- 'to do'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cey-v-ēn*	*cey-v-ēm*/*cey-v-ōm*
2.	*cey-v-āy*	*cey-v-īr(kaḷ)*
3. m.	*ceyy-um* / *cey-v-āṉ*	hum. *cey-v-ār(kaḷ)*

2. It is to be noted that *Tolkāppiyam*, sutra 227 also prescribes the same distribution for *-um* as that found in the *Caṅkam* texts. Ramaswami Aiyar (1938:766-67) suggests that the word *nikaḻumkālam* used in this *sutra* should be taken to mean 'habitual tense' and not 'present tense' which is the usual meaning for this term.

f. *ceyy-um*
cey-v-āḷ }

n. *ceyy-um* *ceyy-um*

In the *Caṅkam* texts verbs (strong verbs) that take *-pp-* as the future suffix have *-kkuv-* also as a free variant of it, e.g. *koṭu-kkuv-ēṉ/koṭu-pp-ēṉ* 'I will give', *kiḷa-kkuv-am/kiḷa-pp-ēm* 'we will speak', *iḻa-kkuv-eṉ/iḻa-pp-ēṉ* 'I wi l lose'. Likewise *-kuv-* is also found as a free variant of *-v-* (or *-p-*) in those classics, e g. *cey-kuv-ēṉ/cey-v-ēṉ* 'I will do', *kāṇ-kuv-al* 'I will see' *aṟi-kuv-am* 'we will know', *cel-kuv-am* 'we will go', *peṟu-kuv-ir* You(pl) will obtain'.

Moreover, *-k-* (in strong verbs *-kk*) itself occurs as the future suffix in the 1st person forms in those ancient texts; the personal endings that follow it are, 1 sg. *-u*(or-∅) and 1 pl. *-am* (rarely *-um* and *-ēm*), e.g. 1 sg. *eṉ-ku* 'I will say', *kāṇ-ku* 'I will see', *moḻi-ku* 'I will speak', *urai-kku* 'I will smear'; 1 pl. *uṇ-k-um* 'we will eat/drink', *pāṭu-k-am/pāṭu-k-ēm* 'we will sing', *nukar-k-ēm* 'we will enjoy', *kāṇ-k-am* 'we will see', *varu-k-am* 'we will come'.

Forms with the suffix *-p-* followed by the personal suffix *-a* occur in ancient literature as 3rd person plurals (without human—non-human distinction), e.g. *eṉ-p-a* 'they (hum.) (will) say', *ī-p-a* 'they (hum.) (will) give', *āku-p-a* 'they (hum/non-hum.) will become'.

(iii) TENSE TYPE WITH *-tt-* (∞ *-t-*): There is a very old tense type in Tamil with *-tt-* in strong verbs and *-t-* in weak verbs appearing in the most ancient extent texts only in the following persons: 1st pl., 2nd sg. and pl. The

traditional grammarians and commentators differ in their views about the actual tense signification of this type. But we may consider it essentially to be a future-*cum*–habitual tense type with occasional reference to other tenses also according to the context.

1st pl. *eḻu-t-um* 'we will get up', *kēṭṭu-d-um* 'we will hear/ask', *añcu-t-um* 'we are afraid', *aṟi-t-um* 'we know', *paṭarku-t-um* 'we will go', *nāṭṭu-t-um* 'we will establish', *aṭi-tt-um* 'we will beat' *kāṇ-ḍ-um* 'we will see'.

2nd sg. *eṉ-ṟ-i* 'you (sg.) will say', *aḷi-tt-i* 'you(sg.)will pity', *paṭar-t-i* 'you (sg.) will think', *pōku-t-i* 'you (sg.) will go', *vāḻ-t-i* 'you (sg.) will live'.

2nd pl. *kāṇ-ṭ-ir* 'you (pl.) will see', *aṟi-t-ir* 'you (pl.) will know', *naṭāvu-t-ir* 'you (pl.) will rule', *peṟu-t-ir* 'you (pl.) will get'.

The resemblance between this suffix and the past suffixes *-t-* and *-tt-* led some of the traditional grammmarians and commentators to attribute past tense meaning also to it. Yuri Y. Glasov (1968 : 106) observes : "The homonymy between the aoristic *-t-* and the preterite *-t-* led not only to a restricted combination of the former with certain personal endings but also to the later omission of this morph as a significant unit of the Tamil morphological structure."

(iv) In *Kalittokai* of the *Caṅkam* age and in some later works forms like the following with the suffix sequence *-kiṟ-p-* occur :

kara-kkiṟ-p-eṉ 'I will conceal.'
cey-kiṟ-p-āṉ-ku 'to him who does'

paṭar-kiṟ-p-īr 'You (pl.) will go.'
mēy-kkiṟ-p-at(u)-ō 'Will he feed?'
kāṇ-kiṟ-p-ār 'They will see.'
nōṟ-kiṟ-p-avar-kku 'to those who accomplish *tapas*'

The indegenous grammarians consider *-k-il-* or *-k-iṉ-* in such forms as an *iṭaiccol* (suffix occurring in the middle). It seems to be somehow related to the present tense suffix *-kiṉṟ-*/*-kiṟ-*.

(v) In old texts, bases followed by the sequence *-mār* occur both as adverbial participles meaning 'in order to' for the purpose of' and also as finite verbs denoting 3rd hum. pl. (see S. Agesthialingom, 1968.)[3]

koṇ-mār (*PN*, 15) 'to bring'
iṟu-mār (*PN*, 282) 'to cut'
puṇar-mār (*AN*, 105) 'to join'
kāṇ-mār (*KT*, 4) 'to see'
muṭi-mār (*AN* 375; 11–13) 'to finish'

3. *Tolkāppiyam*, sutra 207 speaks about this suffix :
mārai-k kiḷavi-y-um pallōr paṭarkkai
kāla-k kiḷavi-y-oṭu muṭiyum eṉpa.

S. Agesthialingom interprets this as follows:

"The suffix *mār* also denotes third person human plural, (Like the adverbial participles) this will also end with verbs. i.e., it will function as an adverbial participle also." He points out that since the forms with this suffix function both as participles and finite verbs, the indegenous commentators' interpretation of the above sutra as "The ending *mār* also denotes third person human plural. But unlike other terminations it will take only verbs i.e., it will be in I.C. relation with verb only" is misleading.

Agesthialingom notes that when these forms are used as adverbial participles there is no concord between the subject of the sentence and these forms, i.e. the subject is not always 3rd hum. pl.

Ramaswami Aiyar (1938 : 764–65) says : "The syntactic peculiarity that they always modify other verbs leads me to suggest that in origin they may have been participial nouns used as adjuncts to the *uyartiṇai* (human) plural subjects, to which they are in apposition in the texts. Such a use of participial nouns is deep-rooted in Tamil from the earliest periods......I would regard the *mār*– forms under reference to have originated as participial nouns based upon the aoristic stem with *-um*, in which personal endings are embodied."

(vi) In *Caṅkam* Tamil there are adverbial participles with the suffix *-pu*. Although traditional grammarians consider them as past adverbial participles it seems to be better to consider the suffix *–pu* in them as a non-past suffix.

cuṭṭu–pu 'on pointing out'
akai–pu 'on suffering'
tāḻ-pu 'on falling'
iṭu–pu 'on placing'

In later Tamil the present participial meaning is expressed by the combination of past adverbial participle and the past adverbial participle of *koḷ* 'to take', *koṇṭu* (+ the emphatic particle *ē*).

pārttuk koṇṭu(ē) 'seeing'
niṉaittuk koṇṭ(ē) 'thinking'

(vii) PRESENT ADJECTIVE: It appears only in post-*Caṅkam* Tamil and consists of the base + *ki<u>ṉ</u><u>r</u>/ki<u>r</u>* + *a* (adjective marker)

cey-ki<u>ṉ</u><u>r</u>-a } 'that is doing / being done'
cey-ki<u>r</u>-a }

par-kki<u>ṉ</u><u>r</u>-a } 'that is seeing / being seen'
pār-kki<u>r</u>-a }

In spoken Tamil, the suffix is *-r-* in weak verbs and *-kr-* in strong verbs, e.g. *cey-r-a, pā-kr-a.*

(viii) FUTURE-CUM-HABITUAL ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding the suffix *-um* (variants *-ūum* and *-m*; *-kkum* after strong verbs) to the base.

e<u>l</u>-um 'that rise(s) / will rise'
tar-ūum 'that give(s) / will give'
var-ūum 'that come(s) / will come'
pār-kkum 'that see(s) / will see'

In Old Tamil the verb base itself is sometimes used as an adjective qualifying the following noun.

cey-nna<u>ṉ</u><u>r</u>i 'the good that (one) does'
po<u>r</u>u-kaḷi<u>r</u>u 'fighting elephant'
ī<u>ṉ</u>-piṇavu 'female animal that is giving birth'

(ix) PURPOSE PARTICIPLE: The forms with the suffix *-vā<u>ṉ</u>* (~*-pā<u>ṉ</u>* ∞ *-ppā<u>ṉ</u>*) do not occur in early *Caṅkam* texts and appear for the first time only in *Kuruntokai* and *Paripāṭal*.

kāṇ-pā<u>ṉ</u> (*KT*, 97) 'to see'
varu-vā<u>ṉ</u> (*KT*, 113) 'to come'

koḷ-vāṉ (*Pari*, 10) 'to take'
puri-vāṉ (*Pari*, 15) 'to know'

The suffix *-pākku* appears only in *Tirukkuraḷ* :

paṭu-pākku (164) 'to suffer'
eṉ-pākku (136) 'to say'

(x) PARTICIPIAL NOUNS: In participial nouns the following present-future suffixes occur; they are usually followed by suffixes of the 3rd person, but in old literature suffixes of the 1st and the 2nd persons also occur after them.

(a) *-kiṉṟ-/-kiṟ-* (post-*Caṅkam*)

cey-kiṉṟ-avaṉ }
cey-kiṟ-avaṉ } 'the man who is doing'

(b) *-um-/-m-*

eṉ-m-ar }
eṉ-m-aṉ-ār } 'those who say'
uṇ-m-ar 'those who eat/drink'
tiṟ-m-ar 'those who eat'
niṟ-kum-ōr 'those who stand'
aṟi-yum-ōṉ 'he who knows'

(c) *-v-* (∞ *-pp-*); also *-p-* in weak verbs (*-v-* in these is often followed by the *cāriyai -aṉ-*).

eḻu-v-ēṉ 'I who will get up'
naku-v-aṉ-ar 'those who laugh'
taru-v-aṉ-ar 'those who give'
kā-pp-ōr 'those who protect'
collu-v-atu 'that which is being said'
nō-v-aṉ-a 'those (neut.) that pain'

varu-p-avar	'those who come'
koḷ-p-avar	'those who take'

(d) *-un-/-n-* (the *n* in this is dental)

ceppu-n-ar	'those who tell'
varu-n-ar	'those who come'
ari-n-ar	'reapers'
tuṟakk-un-ar	'those who renounce'
kuṟu-n-ar	'those who pluck'
vāḻ-n-ar	'those who live'
koḷḷ-un-ar	'those who hold'
ī-n-ar	'those who give'

3.2. Malayalam

(i) PRESENT TENSE: The characteristic suffix of the present tense is *-unn-*. Ramaswami Aiyar and following him A. C. Sekhar traced the origin of this suffix to the Middle Tamil present tense suffix *-kiṉṟ-*. According to Ramaswami Aiyar (1936 : 62) *-iṉṟ-* itself without the preceding *k* occurs as a present tense suffix in early west coast inscriptions from the 10th century onwards. *-iṉṟ-* later changed to *-inn-/ - unn-* (the change of *i* to *u* is due to its unaccented position). The Middle Tamil present tense construction of verb–base + *ā* followed by the past tense forms of the verb *nil* 'to stand' is also represented in some very Old Malayalam inscriptions and in the texts, *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam* and *Bhāgavatam* (13th century).

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is *-um* in all the persons. In *Caṅkam* Tamil *-um* occurs only in the 3rd sg. (masc., fem., and neut.) and neut. pl. in finite forms. In the

earliest texts of Malayalam the *-um* forms were used in agreement with all the 3rd person subjects including the epicene plural. By about the 15th century this suffix was extended to the 1st and the 2nd persons also as evidenced by the literature of that period. So the peculiar Malayalam usage of the *-um* forms for all the three persons had its origin approximately in the 15th century.

"The future forms with *v*, *m* (Tam. *p*) and *pp*, followed by personal endings occur in old Malayalam texts. *Lil*(*ātilakam*) expressly refers to them, *R*(*āma*) *C*(*aritam*) and the Paṉikkars use them freely, and they are not unrepresented in *K*(*ṛṣṇa*) *G*(*āthā*) ; but by the time of *E*ḻ(*uttaśśan*) they have disappeare from the texts, except in the first person sg. with the personal ending *-an*;— a dominant type in Mal. which is very frequently used by *E*ḻ(*uttaśśan*) and which is also met with in many folk songs." (so Ramaswami Aiyar 1936 : 69).

(iii) Aoristic Tense : It is formed by adding *-vū* (~*-mū* ∞ *-ppū*) to the verb base; *mū* occurs after bases ending in a nasal, *-ppū* after strong verbs and *-vū* after weak verbs. *m* and *v* of this suffix may sometimes be dropped. Forms with this suffix besides having aoristic signification, are used also as imperatives in Old Malayalam. In the present-day spoken Malayalam this type is "used along with a restrictive word or phrase preceding it, the 'restriction' being denoted by the particle *ē* attached to the form expressing the idea so restricted and as an 'aorist' it appears in questions implying gentle doubt" (Ramawami Aiyar 1936 : 72).

Eg. *avanē varū.* 'He only will come.'
anubhaviccē aṟiyū. '(One) will know only after experiencing'
endu vēṇḍū 'What is wanted?'

According to Ramaswami Aiyar this type is developed from neut. future participial nouns like *ceyvatu* etc. in which *-atu* in course of time changed to *-itu* and finally to *-ūtu*. Like the aoristic tense that is under consideration here, these participial nouns also may be used as imperatives.

"The structural *-v-*, *-m-* and *-pp-* and the 'aoristic' basis of the semantic ramifications in the different contexts in which these forms are used, make it probable that the final forms with *ū* (sometimes also appearing as short *u*) arose from the truncation of participials like *ōṭūtu*, *koṭuppūtu*, *celvūtu*, the process of truncation perhaps having been fecilitated by the disintegration of personal endings in Mal." (Ramaswami Aiyar 1936 : 75)

(iv) PRESENT ADJECTIVE:

(a) Verb base *-ā+niṉ-ṟ-a* (past adj. of *nil-* 'to stand')
āḷ-ā + niṉ-ṟ-a 'that is ruling'

This occurs only in Old Malayalam.

(b) Verb base *-kiṉṟ-a* / *-iṉṟ-a* (>(*u*)*nn-a*)

vāḻ-kiṉṟ-a }
vāḻ-unn-a } 'that is living'

ceyy-iṉṟ-a 'that is doing'

(v) FUTURE ADJECTIVE: This is formed by adding *-um* to the verb base.

aṟiy-um 'that know(s)/will know'

ēṟ-um 'that climb(s)/will climb'

var-um 'that come(s)/will come'

3.3. Kota

(i) PRESENT-FUTURE TENSE: It is formed by adding pronominal suffixes to the secondary stem (S^2; originally it was the past stem, for its formation, see § 2.3) of a verb. A few irregular verbs insert *b*(~*p*)∞ *g*(~*k*) (*g*/*k* before 3rd personal *ō* and *b*/*p* elsewhere) between the S^2 and the pronominal suffixes.

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: It is formed by adding to the base the suffix *-kv-*(~ *-gv-*) followed by personal suffixes. Before 3rd personal *-ō* the suffix has a variant *-kug-* dialectally. In the dialect in which *-kv-* remains it has a free variant *-kōk-* before *-ō*.

vā- 'to come'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*va-kv-ē(n)*	(excl.) *va-kv-ēm*
		(incl.) *va-kv-ōm*
2.	*va-kv-ī*	*va-kv-īm*
3. (sg. pl.)	*va-kv-ō* (/*va-kōk-ō*)/*va-kug-ō*	

(iii) POTENTIAL: It seems to occur only in the first person sg. and pl. and is formed by adding to the base the

suffix *–k–* followed by personal suffixes. The form with the 1st pl. (excl.) suffix seems to function as the hortative.

va–k–ēn	'I will come.'
va–k–ēm	'We (excl.) will come.'
gey–k–ōm	'Let us (incl.) do.'
ō–k–ōm	'Let us (incl.) go.'

(iv) PRESENT ADVERB: It is formed by adding *–r* to the S² of a verb.

ko–t–r	'giving'
nō–č–r	'seeing'
kukr–č–r	'sitting'
org-y–r	'sleeping'
un–č-r	'thinking'

(v) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding *–vd* (freely varying with *–bd*) to the verb base.

tin–bd }
tin–vd } 'that is/will be eaten'

3.4. Toda

(i) PRESENT-FUTURE TENSE: It is formed by adding the personal suffixes to the secondary stem (S² which is the past stem in origin) of a verb.

kīy- (kis–) 'to do'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*kispini*	(excl.)	*kispimi*
		(incl.)	*kispumi*
2.	*kispi*		*kistṛi*
3. (sg. pl.)		*kisti*	

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: It is formed by adding to the base the suffix *-k-* followed by the pronominal suffixes, e.g.,

kīy-k-in 'I will do'.

(iii) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding -θ (variant *-t*) to the verb base.

pišk-t 'that kills'
aL-θ 'that measures'
naṛ-θ 'that walks'
pod-t 'that comes'
kars-θ 'that laughs'

3.5. Kodagu

(i) PRESENT-FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is /*-v-* ∞ *-p-*/. The allomorphs are morphologically conditioned; the classification on the whole corresponds to that in Tamil-Malayalam.

key- 'to work'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*key-v-i*	*key-v-a*
2.	*key-v-iya*	*key-v-ira*
3. (sg. pl.)	*key-v-a*	

(ii) PERMISSIVE: It is formed by adding *-u* to the base; in some it is preceded by the formative suffix *-k-*.

key-y-u '(One) may work.'
ba-kku '(One) may come.'
tiṅ-gu '(One) may eat.'
māḍ-u '(One) may do.'

(iii) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding the adjective marker -ë to the present-future stem of a verb (this form also functions as the participal noun).

māḍu-v-ë 'that do(es)/will do'
ba-pp-ë 'that come(s)/will come'
aḍi-p-ë 'that beat(s)/will beat'

3.6. Kannada

(i) PRESENT TENSE: Old Kannaḍa has a periphrastic present tense with the following structure.[4]

Past Adverb + Future Tense forms of *āgu* 'to become'

kēḷ 'to hear, ask'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-eṃ*	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-eṃ* / *kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-evu*
2.	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-ay*	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-ir*
3 m.	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-aṃ*	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-ar*
f.	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-aḷ*	
n.	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-udu*	*kēḷ-d+a-p(p)-uvu*

In the mediaeval dialect earlier *p* (*p*) changes to *h* so that in it we have forms like *kēḷ-d+a-h-eṃ* etc. correspon-ding to the above. This present tense of the ancient and mediaeval Kannaḍa has undergone semantic change; "it is

4. However, F. Kittel (1903:125, 128) holds that this is a combination of the relative past participle plus *ap(p)a*, the present-future participle of *āgu* 'to become' followed by the personal suffixes. Note that this type is not represented in the inscriptions.

now-a-days used to convey the idea of uncertainty or possibility, and may be called the contingent present-future tense" (so F. Kittel 1903: 132–33.), e.g. *idd(h)ēnu* 'I may/shall perhaps be', *bandēnu* 'I may/shall perhaps come', *māḍyēnu* 'I may/shall perhaps make'. It is to be noted that in these forms the *-ah-* of the mediaeval dialect is lost and the following vowel is usually lengthened.

The present tense in Modern Kannaḍa is formed with the suffix *-ut(t)-*. However, in the two verbs *agu* 'to be, come' and *iru* 'to be', the Old Kannada type is also preserved (with the addition of an *e* in the final position) along with the regular forms with the suffix *-ut(t)-*.

bar- 'to come'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*bar-ut(t)-ēne*	*bar-ut(t)-ēve*
2.	*bar-ut(t)-i/ī*	*bar-ut(t)-īri*
3 m.	*bar-ut(t)-āne*	*bar-ut(t)-āre*
f.	*bar-ut(t)-āḷe*	
n.	*bar-ut(t)-ade* / *bar-ut(t)-ayte*	*bur-ut(t)-ave* / *bar-ut(t)-āve*

agu- 'to be, become'

1.	*a(y)-d-ēne*	*a(y)-d-ēve*
2.	*a(y)-d-i/ī*	*a(y)-d-īri*
3 m.	*a(y)-d-āne*	*a(y)-d-āre*
f.	*a(y)-d-āḷe*	
n.	*ay-t-e/a-d-e/i-d-e*	*a(y)-d-āve/ave/ive*

iru– 'to be'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*i-dd(h)-ēne*	*i-dd(h)-ēve*
2.	*i-dd(h)-ī/i*	*i-dd(h)-īri*
3 m.	*i-dd(h)āne*	*i-dd(h)-āre*
f.	*i-dd(h)-āḷe*	
n.	*ay–t–e/a–d–e–/i–d–e*	*i-dd(h)-āve/ave/ive*

(ii) PRESENT-FUTURE TENSE : The suffix is /*v*~*b* ∞ *p*(*p*)/; -*b*- occurs after nasal-ending verbs, -*v*- after "weak verbs" and -*p*(*p*)- after "strong verbs".[5] In Modern Kannada the allomorph -*v*- has replaced earlier -*b*- and -*p*(*p*)- and spread to all the verbs.

kuḍu 'to give'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*kuḍu–v–eṃ* / *koḍu–v–enu*	*kuḍu–v–eṃ* / *koḍu–v–evu*
2.	*kuḍu–v–ay* / *koḍu–v–e* / *koḍu–v–i*	*kuḍu–v–ir*
3m.	*kuḍu–v–aṃ/–oṃ*	*kuḍu–v–ar/–or*
f.	*kuḍu–v–aḷ/–oḷ*	
n.	*kuḍu–v–udu* / *koḍu–v–adu*	*kuḍu–v–uvu* / *koḍu–v–avu*

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5. A. N. Narasimhaiya (1941 : 211) notes one example in one 7th century inscription, i.e., *aḷi-m–en* 'I will destroy' which contains –*m*- as the future suffix. This may be due to hyper-standardization of *v* to *m* in spelling since intervocalic *m* had developed in many instances to *v* even by that period (see *ibid*., 58–60). The other hypothesis (proposed by Narasimhaiya (*ibid*., 211), that *m* is the original suffix and *v* is its later development has nothing to recommend it in the comparative study.

(iii) In the ancient and the mediaeval dialects a particular third person is formed by the terminations, (Old) *-gum*, *-kum*, *-kkum* and (Mediaeval) *-ku*, *-gu*. It is used for the present, future and past tense without regard to number and gender. This type is represented in the inscriptions also. The *su* of *-isu* is dropped before *-kum*.

āḷ-gum 'He/she/it/they rule(s)/will rule.'
bar-kum 'He/she/it/they come(s)/will come.'
kāṇ-gum 'He/she/it/they see(s)/will see.'
en-i-kum 'He/she/it/they cause(s) to say / will cause to say.' (: *en-isu*)

In Modern Kannaḍa only two forms with this suffix have remained. They are: *bēku* '(something) is wanted' (<Old *bēḻ-kum; bēḍu* 'to want') and *sāku* '(something) is sufficient' (<Old *sāl-kum*, *sāl* 'to be sufficient').

(iv) Hortative: It is formed by adding to the present future stem the 1st person inclusive suffix, (Old) *-am*, (Med.) *-a*, (Mod.) *-a*, *-ā*, *-anu*, *ana*, *-aṇa*.

(Old) *tāgu-v-am*, *tā-p-am* 'Let us (incl.) attack!'
ir-p-am 'Let us (incl.) be!'

(Med.) *kēḷu-v-a* 'Let us (incl.) hear!'
hōgu-v-a 'Let us (incl.) go!'

(Mod.) *māḍu-v-ā*, *māḍ-ū-nu*, *māḍ-ō-ṇa* 'Let us (incl.) do!'

hōgu-v-ana/-aṇa, *hōg-ū-nu/-na*, *hōg-ō-ṇa* 'Let us (incl.) go!'

(v) Present Adverb: The suffix is (Old) *-ut(t)um*, *-ut(t)e*, (Med.) *-ut(t)a(m)*, (Mod.) *-ut(t)ā*, *-ut(t)u*. Kittel (1903 : 109-10) identifies the final *um* of this particle with the copula *-um* and the final *e* with the emphatic *ē*.

aḷ-ut(t)u(m) 'ruling'
nag-utu(m) 'laughing'
īy-utu(m) 'giving'
bar-uttam/bar-uttā 'coming'
aḷ-utum 'weeping'

(vi) Non-Past Adjective: It is formed by adding to the present-future stem of a verb the adjective marker *-ā*. In verbs ending in *-isu*, the allomorph *-p-* occurs in free variation with *-v-*; before *-p-*, *su* of *-isu* is dropped.

āḷ-v-a 'that rule(s)/will rule'
gel-v-a 'that win(s)will win'
uṇ-b-a 'that eat(s)/will eat'
kāṇ-b-a 'that see(s)/will see'
en-b-a 'that say(s)/will say'
īn-p-a 'that bear(s) young/will bear young'
bar-p(p)-a / *baru-v-a* } 'that come(s)/will come'
ir-p(p)-a/ / *i-pp-a/i-h-a* / *iru-v-a* } 'that is(are)/will be'

3.6. Tulu

(i) Present-Future Tense: The suffix is *-puv-* ∞ *-p-* ~ *-b-/*; *-b-* occurs after pollysyllabic bases ending in

ɨ and *-puv-* and *-p-* and morphologically conditioned. E.g. *kal-puv-* (*:kal-* 'to learn'), *aḍi-puv-* (*:aḍi-* 'to sweep'), *kā-puv-* (*:kā-* 'to wait') *par-p-*(*:par-* 'to drink'), *agi-p-*(*agi-* 'to chew'), *ā-p-*(*:ā-* 'to become'), *tū-p-*(*:tū-* 'to see'), *padiri-b-* (*:padiri-* 'to spread'), *pāḍ(ɨ)-b-*(*:pāḍɨ* 'to put'), *tāṅgɨ-b-* (*:tāṅgɨ-* 'to support'), *tin-p-*(*:tin-* 'to eat'), *bar-p-* (*:bar-* 'to come'), *paṇ-p-* (*paṇ-* 'to tell'). Before 3rd neut. sg. suffix *-uṇḍu*, *-puv-*, and *-b-* have variants *-p-*, and *-Ø-* respectively.

kal(pu)- 'to learn'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*kal-puv-E*	*kal-puv-a*
2,	*kal-puv-a*	*kal-puv-arɨ*
3. m.	*kal-puv-e*	*kal-puv-erɨ*
f.	*kal-puv-aḷɨ*	
n.	*kal-p-uṇḍu*	*kal-puv-a*

The Brahmin dialect has *-pv-* corresponding to *-puv-* and *-v-* corresponding to *-b-* of the common dialect.

(ii) Future Tense: The suffix is /*-p-* ∞ *-v-* ~ *-b-*/; *-b-* occurs after verbs ending in a nasal and *-p-* and *-v-* are morphologically conditioned. *-v-* and *-b-* have zero variants before 3rd neuter sg. suffix *-u*. E.g. *kal-p-* (: *kal-* 'to learn'), *aḍi-p-* (: *aḍi-* 'to sweep'), *kā-p-* (: *kā-* 'to wait'), *par-v-* (: *par-* 'to drink'), *agi-v-* (: *agi-* 'to chew'), *ā-v-* (: *ā-* 'to become'), *tū-v-* (: *tū-* 'to see'), *padiri-v-* (: *padiri-* 'to spread'), *pāḍɨ-v-* (: *pāḍɨ-* 'to put'), (: *tāṅgi-v-* 'to support'), *paṇ-b-*/*pan-v-*/*pam-b-* (: *paṇ-* 'to tell'), *kēṇi-b-*/*kēm-b-* (: *kēṇɨ-* 'to hear'), *tin-b-*

(: *tin-* 'to eat'), *bar-v-* (: *bar-* 'to come'). In the Brahmin dialect the suffix is -∅- in verbs that have the *-v-* suffix in the common dialect.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*kal-p-ɛ*	*kal-p-a*
2.	*kal-p-a*	*kal-p-arɨ*
3m.	*kal-p-e*	*kal-p-erɨ*
f.	*kal-p-alɨ*	
n.	*kal-p-u*	*kal-p-a*

In the Brahmin dialect and in some regional dialects this tense seems to have a subjunctive meaning, e.g. *bar-v-ɛ* 'I will come/I may come', etc.

(iii) PRESENT ADVERB: It is formed by adding the suffix *-ontu* (Brahmin dialect) /*-ondu* (common dialect) to the immediate past stems of class I and class IV bases and directly to bases of classes II and III. Historically this construction contains the past adverb of a verb followed by the past adverb of the reflexive verb *koḷ-* 'to take'.

(B)	*kaltontu* /	(C) *kaltondu*	'learning'
	korontu /	*korondu*	'giving'
	tūvontu /	*tūvondu*	'seeing'
	pāḍontu /	*pāḍondu*	'putting'
	kēnḍontu /	*kēnḍondu*	'hearing, asking'
	tindontu /	*tindondu*	'eating'

(iv) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding the adjective marker *-i* to the present-future stem of a verb. In verbs of class I the suffix *-pub-* has a free variant *-p-*

before the adjective marker. In the Brahmin dialect *-b-* in this form is replaced by zero.

kal–p–i / *kal–pub–i*	'that learn(s)/will learn'
kor–p–i	'that give(s)/will give'
tū-p–i	'that see(s)/will see'
badkɨ–b–i / *badk–Ø–i*	'that live(s)/will live'
kēṇ–b–i / *kēṇ-Ø–i*	'that hear(s)/will hear'
tin–p–i	'that eat(s)/will eat'
bar-p–i	'that come(s)/will come'

(v) INSTANTIAL PARTICIPLE: The suffix *–naga* is added to a base.

kalpu–naga	'while learning'
par–naga	'while drinking'
pō–naga	'while going'
kēṇ–ṇaga	'while asking'
ban–naga	'while coming'

3.8. Telugu

(i) PRESENT TENSE: This is a periphrastic construction in both Old and modern Telugu. In Old Telugu it consists of the present adverb followed by the participial noun (inflected for person, number and gender) of *uṇḍu* 'to be'.

cēyu-c(un)+un-na vā̃ḍ-anu (m.) } 'I am doing.'
cēyu-c(un)+un-na dān-anu (f.) }

cēyu-c(un) + un-na vār-amu 'We are doing.'

cēyu-c(un) + un-na vā̃ḍ-avu (m.) } 'You (sg.) are doing.'
cēyu-c(un)+un-na dān-avu (f.) }

cēyu-c(un)+un-na vār-(ar)u
'You (pl.) are doing.'

cēyu-c(un)+un-na vā̃ḍu 'He is doing.'

cēyu-c(un)+un-na(ya)di 'She/it is doing.'

cēyu-c(un)+un-na vāru 'They (hum.) are doing.'

cēyu-c(un)+un-na(ya)vi 'They (neut.) are doing.'

The initial *v* of *vā̃ḍu* in this construction is optionally dropped in the later period of the Telugu literature so that forms like *cēyu-c(un)+unnā̃ḍanu* 'I am doing' etc., (with contraction of $a + \bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{a}$) also came into use.

The Modern Telugu present tense is also historically a periphrastic construction consisting of the present adverb and the past-present finite forms of *uṇḍu* 'to be'. However, descriptively it has to be analysed as a morphological construction the present tense marker being *-tunnā-* with a variant *-tōn-* before 3rd non-m. sg. suffix. After *n-* ending verbs with a short vowel, the *t* of this suffix changes to *ṭ*.

cēyu 'to do'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cēs-tunnā-nu*	*cēs-tunnā-m*
2.	*cēs-tunnā-vu*	*cēs-tunnā-ru*
3m.	*cēs-tunnā-ḍu*	*cēs-tunnā-ru*
non-m.	*cēs-tōn-di*	*cēs-tunnā-yi*

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: Old Telugu has a periphrastic construction consisting of the infinitive form of a verb followed by the participal noun *kala vā̃ḍu* or *kaladi* (inflected for person, number and gender) from the defective verb *kal(a)*- 'to be, have', e.g.

cēy-an gala vā̃ḍ-anu(m.)/*dān-anu*(f.) 'I shall do', etc.

These forms had alternants without the *v* in *vāḍu* in the later literature, e.g. *cēy-an galā̃ḍanu*, etc. From the 14th century onwards the personal suffixes are directly added to the verb base *kala*- so that forms like *cēy-an gala-nu* 'I shall do' are also found. This type (with the personal suffixes added directly to *kala*-) in modern Telugu denotes not the future tense as in Old Telugu but "the ability of a person to do such and such a thing", e.g. *tin-a gala-nu* 'I can eat' *cepp-a gala-nu* 'I can tell', etc. It must be noted here that even in Old Telugu this construction sometimes denotes "ability" rather than "future" and that in the future tense meaning this construction was used only rarely, the more common mode of expressing future being the usage of the habitual tense.

In modern Telugu the future tense suffix is *-tā-*; it has a variant *-tun-* before the 3rd non-m. sg. suffix *-di* (after *n*-ending verbs with a short vowel, the *t* changes to *ṭ*). The future tense in modern Telugu has also the signification of the habitual, e.g. *nēnu tāgu-tā-nu* 'I will drink/(usually) drink'.

cēyu 'to do'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cēs-tā-nu*	*cēs-tā-m*

2.	*cēs-tā-vu*		*cēs-tā-ru*
3m.	*cēs-tā-ḍu*		*cēs-tā-nu*
non-m.	*cēs-tun-di*	n.	*cēs-tā-yi*

(iii) Habitual Tense: Old Telugu has a habitual tense with the suffix */-du-/-eda ∞ -eḍu/-eḍi-/Ø/; -eḍu-* with free variants *-eḍi* and zero occurs before 3 sg. and neut. pl. marker *-nu* and *-du-* freely varying with *-eda-* occurs before 1st and 2nd person markers and before 3rd hum. pl. marker. This tense is frequently employed to denote future and present meanings in addition to the habitual (denoting habit or nature) meaning; this tense of verbs meaning "to say" occasionally refers to the past also (cf. *Bālavyākaraṇamu, kriyā, sutra* 22)

vaṇḍu 'to cook'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*vaṇḍu-du-nu* / *vaṇḍ-eda-mu*		*vaṇḍ-du-mu* / *vaṇḍ-eda-mu*
2.	*vaṇḍu-du-vu* / *vaṇḍ-eda-vu*		*vaṇḍu-du-ru* / *vaṇḍ-eda-ru*
3sg. neut. pl.	*vaṇḍu-Ø-nu* / *vaṇḍ-eḍu-nu* / *vaṇḍ-eḍi-ni*	hum.	*vaṇḍu-du-ru* / *vaṇḍ-eda-ru*

In modern Telugu (it seems to be preserved only in the eastern dialects) this tense has undergone semantic change and no longer represents habitual action. Instead, it means that "(subject) would have VERB -en." The variants *-eḍu/eḍi* and *-eda* do not occur in modern Telugu.

nuvvu immaṇṭē nēnu ḍabbu iddunu.

'If you (sg.) had asked me to give, I *would have given* the money'.

mīru veḍitē nēnū oddunu.

'If you(pl.) had gone, I too *would have come*'.

mīru odd(u) annā nēnu cēddunu.

'Even though you(pl.)prohibited, I *would have done*'.

(iv) HORTATIVE: In Old Telugu it is formed by adding to the base the suffix *-da-* followed by the personal suffix *-mu*. In modern Telugu the hortative suffix is *-dā-* and it is followed by the personal ending *-m*.

Old	Mod.	
cēyu-da-mu	*cēd-dā-m*	'Let us (incl,) do!'
tin-da-mu	*tin-dā-m*	'Let us (incl.) eat!'
pōvu-da-mu	*pō-dā-m*	'Let us (incl.) go!'

(v) PRESENT ADVERB: In Old Telugu the fuffix is *-cun*; it is *-tū* in modern Telugu (*-tā* in the Rayalaseema dialect); the *t* of it changes to *ṭ* after *n*-ending verbs with a short vowel.

Old	Mod.	
vaṇḍu-cun	*oṇḍu-tū*	'cooking'
tinu-cun	*tiṇ-ṭu*	'eating'
cēyu-cun	*cēs-tū*	'doing'

The 13th century poet and grammarian, Ketana mentions the form *koṇ-ṭū* 'buying' with the suffix *-ṭū* and considers it to be non-literary. Instances for the *-tā* suffix occur in inscriptions from the 15th century onwards (see K. Mahadeva

Sastri 1969:231) All this proves that these suffixes are also fairly older.

(vi) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE : In Old Telugu the suffix is *-eḍu/-eḍi/Ø* (all the three are free variants). Before a word beginning with a vowel the variants *-eḍu* and Ø take an additional ***n*** finally, e.g. *vaccu-n-atā ḍu/vacc-eḍun-atā ḍu* 'the person who comes' (see *Bālavyākaraṇamu, sandhi, sutra* 33). The suffix in modern Telugu is *-ē*; it has a variant *-ēṭ* before *appuḍu* 'then, at the time of', and optionally before *anta* 'that much' and *anduku* 'for that purpose', e.g. *occ-ēṭ appuḍu* 'at the time of coming', *cepp-ē(ṭa)nduku* 'for telling', *cepp-ē(ṭa)nta* 'enough for telling'. According to Mahadeva Sastri (1969 : 227) the suffixes *-ē* and *-ēṭi* are attested in the inscriptions from the 13th century onwards. In *Pāṇḍuranga māhātmyamu* (15th-16th century) there is one instance of the *-ē* suffix, *nuyi dā̃ṭē vānikin* 'to him who crosses the well'.

Old	Mod.	
vacc-eḍu *vacc-eḍi* *vaccu-Ø*	*occ-ē*	'that come(s)/will come'
cepp-eḍu *cepp-eḍi* *ceppu-Ø*	*cepp-ē*	'that tell(s)/will tell'
tin-eḍu *tin-eḍi* *tinu-Ø*	*tin-ē*	'that eat(s)/will eat'
eēs-eḍu *cēs-eḍi* *cēyu-Ø*	*cēs-ē*	'that do(es)/will do'

3.9. Gondi

(I Adilabad Dialect)

(i) PRESENT–FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is *-ānt-* with a variant *-nt-* occuring after stems or stem allomorphs of the type (C)V̄ and after stems ending in *n*. This tense refers to the present as well as the future time.

sūṛ- 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*sūṛ-ānt-ōn*	*sūṛ-ānt-ōm*
2.	*sūr-ānt-ī*	*sūṛ-ānt-īṭ*
3m.	*sūṛ-ānt-ōr*	*sūṛ-ānt-ēr*
non-m.	*sūṛ-ānt-ā*	*sūṛ-ānt-āṅ*

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is/∞ *-ak-* ∞ *k-* ∞ *-n-* ∞ *-ān-* ~ *-ār*/; *-k-* occurs before the 1st and 2nd person suffixes; it has a variant *-ak-* after stems ending in *k* or *g*. *-ān-* occurs before 3rd masc. sg., masc. pl. and non masc. pl. suffixes; it has a variant *-n-* after verbs of the type (C)V̄. *-ār-* occurs before the 3rd non-masc. sg. suffix (which has zero allomorph after this); *-āl* instead of *-ār-* occurs in the Betul dialect.

aṭṭ- 'to cook'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*aṭ-k-ā*	(excl.)	*aṭ-k-ōm*
		(incl.)	*aṭ-k-āṭ*
2.	*aṭ-k-ī*		*aṭ-k-īṭ*
3m.	*aṭṭ-ān-ūr*		*aṭṭ-ān-īr*
non-m.	*aṭṭ-ār-∅*		*aṭṭ-ān-ūṅ*

(iii) Past Habitual-cum-Irrealis Tense: The suffix is *-nd-* and it has a variant *-d-* after stems ending in a nasal or a consonant cluster consisting of dissimilar consonants. As the name indicates, this tense has reference to (i) actions that could have been performed but were not actually performed in the past; or to (ii) actions that the subject used to perform in the past, e.g. *tin-d-ūn* 'I would have eaten / was eating.'

pā 'to beat'

1.		*pā-nd-ūn*	*pā-nd-ūm*
2.		*pā-nd-ī*	*pā-nd-īṭ*
3.	m.	*pā-nd-ūr*	*pā-nd-īr*
	non-m.	*pā-nd-ū*	*pā-nd-ūṅ*

(iv) Present Adverb: The suffix is /-sēr ∞ -cēr~-jēr/; *-cēr* occurs after verbs in *c, j, t, d* or *h* and after *tar-* 'to bring', *-jēr* occurs after verbs ending in *n*, and *-sēr* occurs elsewhere. In the Betul dialect the suffix is *-sōṛē* with a variant *-cōṛē*, e.g. *wank-sōṛē* 'speaking'.

kāc-cēr 'digging'

toh-cēr 'showing'

tac-cēr 'bringing'

un-jēr 'drinking'

vār-sēr 'singing'

(v) Non-Past Adjective: The verbal noun with the suffix *-vāl* is employed as the non-past adjective.

veh-vāl māynāl 'The person that tells'

(vi) NON-PAST CONDITIONAL: It consists of the base plus the non-past marker *-n-* plus the conditional marker *-ēkē*.

aṭ-n-ēkē 'while cooking'
aṟ-n-ēkē 'while weeping'
vā-n-ēkē 'while coming'

(II Koya Dialect)

(i) PRESENT TENSE: This is a periphratic construction consisting of the present adverb of a verb plus the inflected forms of the verb *mand-* (variant *minn-*) 'to be'. The forms of this construction are often shortened by dropping the sequence *-rmi-* in the case of the 3rd non-masc. sg. form and *-rmin-* in the remaining forms. These shortened forms actually look like morphological constructions with a present tense suffix *-ōn-*.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*ūḍ-ō(r min)n-āna*	*ūḍ-ō(r min)n-āma*
2.	*ūḍ-ō(r min)n-ini*	*ūḍ-ō(r min)n-iri*
3m.	*ūḍ-ō(r min)n-ōṇḍu*	*ūḍ-ō(r min)-ōru*
non-m.	*ūḍ-ō(r mi)n-de*	*ūḍ-ō(r min)n-ā(ku)*

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is /*-it-* ∞ *-t-* ∼ *-īd-*/; *-t-* occurs after verbs ending in *nn* and after nine irregular verbs, which (excepting *mand-* 'to be') have stems or stem alternants ending in *y* or *ī*, i.e. *tay-t-*/*tey-t-* (: *tarr-* 'to bring'), *vay-t-*/*vey-t-* (: *varr-* 'to come'), *vey-t-* (: *vē-* 'to be cooked'), *key-t-* (: *kell-* 'to tell'), *oy-t-* (: *oy-* 'to take away'), *dey-t-* (: *ann-* 'to go'), *ay-t-* (: *ā-* 'to become'),

and *iy–t–* (: *ī–* 'to give'). *–it–* occurs after all other stems and before personal suffixes other than the 3rd non-masc. sg. before which it has the variant *–īd–*. The future tense also denotes habituality.

ūḍ– 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*ūḍ-it-āna*	*ūḍ-it-āma*
2.	*ūḍ-it-īni*	*ūḍ-it-īri*
3m.	*ūḍ-it-ōṇḍu*	*ūḍ-it-ōru*
non-m.	*ūḍ-id-e*	*ūḍ-it-ā(ku)*

(iii) IRREALIS TENSE: The suffix is *–k'ō-* (the *ō* of it is dropped before the 2nd person suffixes which begin with *ī*).

nor– 'to wash'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*nord-k'ō-nu*	*nord-k'ō-mu*
2.	*nord-k'-īni*	*nord-k'-īri*
3m.	*nord-k'ō-ṇḍu*	*nord-k'ō-ru*
non-m.	*nord-k'ō-ru*	*nord-k'ō-(ku)*

(iv) HORTATIVE: It consists of the base plus the hortative suffix *–k'-* plus the 1st person inclusive pl. suffix *-ǎḍa*.

uḍd-'-ǎḍa Let us (incl.) plough !'
tar-k'-ǎḍa 'Let us (incl.) climb !'
tat-k'-ǎḍa 'Let us (incl.) bring !'

(v) PRESENT ADVERB: The suffix is/*-ōr* ∞ *sōr* ∞ *cōr* ~*-jōr*/; *-jōr* occurs after stems ending in *nn*, *-cōr* occurs

after stems or stem allomorphs that end in a vowel and after *ēn-* 'to receive', *-sōr* occurs after stems of the (C)VC type and after the irregular verbs *varr-* 'to come', *ā-* to become, *ī-* 'to give', *vē-* 'to be cooked', and *oy-* 'to carry away' and *-ōr* occurs after the remaining stems.

uṇ-jōr	'going'
to-ccōr	'tying'
ta-ccōr	'bringing'
ēn-cōr	'receiving'
uḍ-sōr	'ploughing'
vā-sōr	'coming'
ī-sōr	'giving'
ūḍ-ōr	'seeing'
talp-ōr	'asking'
mēy-ōr	'grazing'

(vi) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE : It is formed by adding to the base the non-past marker *-ān-* followed by the adjective marker *-a*.

ūḍ-ān-a	'that see(s)/will see'
uḍd-ān-a	'that plough(s)will plough'
vād-ān-a	'that come(s)/will come'

3.10. Konda

(i) DURATIVE (PROGRESSIVE) TENSE : The suffix is /*-sin-* ∞ *-zin*/. the distribution of the allomorphs is similar to that of the allomorphs of *-si* and *-zi* of the past adverb (see § 2.10). The durative refers to an action in progress in the past or non-past time.

ki- 'to do'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*ki-zin-a*	(excl.)	*ki-zin-ap*
		(incl.)	*ki-zin-aṭ*
2.	*ki-zin-i(d)*		*ki-zin-(i)d-er*
3m.	*ki-zin-an*		*ki-zin-ar*
non-m.	*ki-zin-ad*		*ki-zin-e*

(ii) NON-PAST TENSE: The non-past tense suffix is *-n-*, e.g. *kūk-n-* (*:kūk-* 'to call'), *ḍig-n-* (*:ḍig-* 'to get down'), *dēl-n-* (*:dēl-* 'to float'). In five verbs ending in *n* and two in *ṇ*, the *n* is morphophonemically lost, e.g. *tin-∅-* (*: tin-* 'to eat'), *uṇ-∅-* (*: uṇ-* 'to drink'), *sūṇ-∅-* (*: sūṇ-* 'to see') In four verbs ending in *l*, *l+n → n* (optionally in one of them) and in another four verbs ending in *l*, *l+n → ṇ*, e.g. *ni-n-* (*: nil-* 'to stand') *peṛel-n-/peṛe-n-* (*: peṛel-* 'to explode'), *ko-ṇ-* (*: kol-* 'to buy'). Verbs ending in *ṇḍ* and *nd* optionally lose the final stop before *-n-*, e.g. *noṇḍ-n-/noṇ-ṇ* (*: noṇḍ-* 'to kiss'), *dand-n-/dan-n-* (*: dand-* 'to thrash').

ta- 'to bring'

1.	*ta-n-a*	(excl.)	*ta-n-ap*
		(incl.)	*ta-n-aṭ*
2.	*ta-n-i(d)*		*ta-n-ider*
3m.	*ta-n-an*		*ta-n-ar*
non-m.	*ta-n-ad*		*ta-n-e*

(iii) SIMULTANEATIVE: The suffix is */-bu~-pu/*; *-pu* occurs after stems ending in a voiceless obstruent or the vowels *ī, u, ū, e, ē, o* and *ō*, or the consonants *r* and *ṛ* preceded by a short vowel; *-bu* occurs elsewhere. This form expresses the meaning "as soon as ....", "at the time of".

kere-pu 'as the (cock) was crowing'
veR-pu veR-pu 'as (somebody) was saying'
man-bu 'while staying'

(iv) DURATIVE CONDITIONAL: It it formed by adding to the durative stem the conditional suffix *-iṅ*. It expresses a continuous action which is immediately followed by another.

visaris-in-iṅ 'as (he) was worrying'
būḍ ki-zin -iṅ 'as (I) have been bathing (daily)'

(v) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE; It consists of the stem followed by the non-past marker *-n-* which in turn is followed by the adjective marker *-i*.

ṛū-n-i 'that (is) ploughed/will (be) plough(ed)'
gūr-n-i 'that sleep(s) /will sleep'
uṇ-Ø-i 'that eat(s) /will eat'

The participial noun is formed from the verbal adjectives by first adding to them the stem formative *-k-* and then the personal suffixes (only the 3rd person), masc. sg. *-aṅ*, masc. pl *-ar*, non-masc. sg. *a(d)* and non-masc. pl. *-eṅ*, e.g. *as-n-i-k-an* 'a man who holds'. The non- masc. sg. forms also function as verbal nouns, e.g. *vaṟ-n-i-k-a* 'cooking', *uṇ-Ø-i-k-a* 'eating'.

The non-past stem with the marker *-n-* in this language is also followed by the resultative suffix *-iṅ*, the conditional suffix *-iṅa* and also by the extentive suffix *-eṇḍa*.

Resultative :

vā-n-iṅ 'before (subject) hardly came'
so(n)-n-iṅ 'before (subject) hardly went'

Conditional (generally follwed by the imperative):

ḍig-n-iṅa ḍig-ʔa 'If you(sg.) get off, get off!'
ṛug-n-iṅa ṛug-ʔa 'If you(sg.) get in, get in!'

Extentive :

vā-n-eṇḍa 'until (subject) comes'
rāl-n-eṇḍa 'until (subject) fall down'
panz-n-eṇḍa 'until (stomach) fills'

3.11. Pengo

(i) FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is *-n-*. After verbs ending in *ṇ* and five verbs ending in *n*, the *-n-* is replaced by zero, *uṇ-Ø-* (:*uṇ-* 'to drink'), *in-Ø-* (:*in-* 'to say'), *tin-Ø-* (:*tin-* 'to eat'), *pun-Ø-* (:*pun-* 'to krow'), *man-Ø-* (:*man-* 'to be'), *ven-Ø-* (:*ven-* 'to hear'), but *hon-n-* (:*hon-* 'to run'), *hen-n-* (: *hen-* 'to shave'). The *l* in *hal-* 'to go' is lost before *-n-*: *ha-n-*. In stems ending in *ṭ* or *ḍ*, *-n-* is dialectally replaced by *r*, e.g. *aḍ-n-/aḍ-r-*(*aḍ-* 'to be able'), *naṭ-n-* / *naṭ-r-*(: *naṭ-* 'to sever'). Stems in *nḍ* drop the *ḍ* before *n* in the dialect of Ancalaguma, e.g. *pinḍ-n-* / *pinḍ-r-*/ *pin-n-* (: *pinḍ-* 'to carry on shoulder') Stems in *ṅ(g)* always eliminate the *g* before *-n-*, e.g. *tāṅ-n-* (: *tāṅ(g)-* 'to walk').

The future tense is commonly used to express habitual action.

huṛ- 'to see'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*huṛ-n-aṅ*	(excl.)	*huṛ-n-ap*
		(incl.)	*huṛ-n-as*
2.	*huṛ-n-ay*		*huṛ-n-ader/-ider*
3m.	*huṛ-n-an*		*huṛ-n-ar*
		f.	*huṛ-n-ik*
f & n.	*huṛ-n-at*		*nuṛ-n-iṅ*

A particle *de* is commonly added to the terminations of the future tense: *hānan-de* 'he will die'. Before this a final voiceless stop is voiced and the final *s* of the 1st incl. pl. is optionally converted to *h*, e.g. *naḍrad-de* 'it will break off' (*naḍrat*), *vānab-de* 'we will come' (*vānap*), *hanah-de* 'we (incl.) will go'.

(ii) PRESENT TENSE: The present tense is made by adding *-a* to the forms of the future. Before this *-a* a final *g* is restored in the 1st sg. and 3rd neut pl. which end in *ṅ*. Dialectally before this *g* the preceding *aṅ* and *iṅ* are weakened to the corresponding nasalized vowels; this nasalization is dropped in a few examples. There are also a few forms in which there was no restoration of *g*. Beside the regular *huṛnaha* of the 1st person incl. pl. forms such as *huṛnasa* with the unchanged *s* also were occasionally recorded.

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*huṛ-n-aṅg-a*	(excl.)	*huṛ-n-ap-a*
		(incl.)	*huṛ-n-ah-a*

2. *huṛ-n-ay-a*	*huṛ-n-ader-a*
3m. *huṛ-n-an-a*	*huṛ-n-ar-a*
	f. *huṛ-n-ik-a*
f & nt. *huṛ-n-at-a*	nt. *huṛ-n-iṅg-a*

(iii) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE: It is made by adding *-i* to the present-future stem with the suffix *-n-*.

koṛ-n-i 'that buy(s)/will buy'

tūl-n-i 'that blow(s)/will blow'

ṛū-n-i 'that plough(s)/will plough'

ēnd-n-i that dance(s)/will dance'

The participial noun is formed by adding *-aka* to the adjective form (both past and non-past); the vowel *i* is lost before *-aka*. This form serves as neuter sg. and it is also used as a verbal noun, e g *vā-n-aka* 'she/it that comes/will come; coming'. The appropriate personal suffixes, are added to this form to denote other persons and numbers, e.g. *vā-n-aka-ṅ* 'I who am coming', *vā-n-aka-n* 'he who is coming', etc.

3·13. **Kui**

(i) PRESENT TENSE: This is a periphrastic construction consisting of the present adverb of a verb followed by the future tense forms of *man-* 'to be'.

tāk-ai ma-Ø-i 'I am walking'

ḍēs-pi man-Ø-amu 'we are building'

ṛū-i ma-Ø-i 'I am ploughing'

(ii) FUTURE TENSE : The future tense morpheme is /-*d*- (∞ -*id*-) ∞ -*n*- (∞ -*in*-) ~ -∅-/. -*d*- occurs before the 2nd personal suffixes (both sg. and pl.) and *n* elswhere except before the 1st sg. suffixes where -∅- (or, probably glottal stop) occurs. The variants -*id*- and -*in*- occurs after the verbs of W.W. Winfield's 1st conjugation. When -*d*- comes into contact with base final *l*, *ṇ* and *n* the following assimilatory changes take place: (i) In three monosyllabic verbs containing a long vowel *l* + *d* → *ḍ*, *nī-ḍ*- (: *nīl*- 'to be standing (corn)'), *sō-ḍ*- (:*sōl*- 'to enter'), *vā-ḍ*- (*vāl*- 'to peel'). (ii) In three monosyllabic verbs containing a short vowel, *l* + *d* → *j*, *je-j*-, (: *jel*- 'to pull'), *ve-j*- (: *vel*- 'to pull'), *sa-j*- (: *sal*- 'to go') (in *sal*- the *l* is dropped before *n*). (iii) *ṇ* + *d* → *ṇḍ*, *pāṇ-ḍ*- (: *pāṇ*- 'to obtain'), *uṇ-ḍ*- (:*uṇ*- 'to drink'). (iv) *n* + *d* → *nj*, *tin-j*-(: *tin*- 'to eat') *in-j*-(: *in*- 'to say'). Base final *ṇ* and *n* are lost before the -*n*- suffix. Before the ∅ suffix in the 1st person sg. form base final *ṇ* or *n* and the *l* in *sal*- 'to go' are lost, *dā*-∅-*i* 'I will go'. The future tense indicates habitual action also.

kō- 'to reap'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*kō*-∅-*i*	(excl.)	*kō-n-amu*
		(incl.)	*kō-n-asu*
2.	*kō-d-i*		*kō-d-eru*
3m.	*kō-n-enju*		*kō-n-eru*
non-m.	*kō-n-e*		*kō-n-u*

(iii) HORTATIVE : In this language the hortative forms are there in all persons and numbers and also in the negative

The suffix is /*-k-* ∞ *ak-* ∞ *-pak-* ∞ *-bak-*/; *-k-* occurs after the negative suffix *-ʔa-*, *-pak-* after verbs of the 2nd and the 3rd conjugations, *-bak-* after verbs ending in a vowel, *g*, or *l* (except *sal-* 'to go') of the 4th conjugation and *-ak-* elsewhere. It is followed by the verbal appellative endings: *tāk-ak-anu* let me walk' *tāk-ʔa-k-anu* 'let me not walk', etc.

tāk- 'to walk'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*tāk-ak-anu*	(excl.)	*tāk-ak-amu*
		(incl.)	*tāk-ak-asu*
2.	*tāk-ak-ati*		*tāk-ak-ateru*
3m.	*tāk-ak-anju*		*tāk-ak-aru*
non-m.	*tāk-ak-ari*		*tāk-ak-ai*

(iv) Present Adverb: The suffix is /*ai* (~*-ki*~*-pki*) ∞ *-pi* ∞ *-i* ∞ *-bi* ∞ *ji*/; *-ai* occurs after verb bases of the lst conjugation and those ending in *p* of the 2nd conjugation; *-pi* after verb bases of the 2nd conjugation (other than *p*-ending); *-i* after those of the 3rd conjugation; *-ji* after *n*-ending verbs and one *l*- ending verb (containing a short vowel) in the 4th conjugation and *-bi* in the remaining verbs of the 4th conjugation, *-ai* has an alternant *-ki* after verb bases ending in dental (including *s*), palatal (not preceded by a consonant) or retroflex consonant; *-pki* occurs in five monosyllabic verbs ending in *ǐ* of the 3rd conjugation.

(i)	*aṭ-ki*	'joining'	(:*aḍ-*)
	as-ki	'fearing'	(:*aj-*)
	deg-ai	'running'	

	bet-ki	'piercing' (*:bend-*)
	ēs-ki	'singing'
	grāmb-ai	'learning'
	nos-ki	'kissing' (: *nonj-*)
	tāk-ai	'walking'
(ii)	*ār-pi*	'calling'
	ēs-pi	'separating'
	jāp-ai	'lowering'
	kā-pi	'waiting'
	nep-ai	'finishing'
(iii)	*ā-i*	'bearing'
	dī-pki	'falling down'
	gi-pki	'doing'
	kō-i	'reaping'
	ō-i	'taking'
	sī-pki	'giving'
	vī-pki	'throwing'
	kī-pki	'pouring'
	vrī-i	'falling to pieces'
(iv)	*ibgi*	'throwing down' (: *ig-*)
	ēṇ-bi	'receiving'
	in-ji	'saying'
	nīl-bi	'standing'
	jel-bi	'pulling'
	sa-ji	'going' (: *sal-*)
	tin-ji	'eating'
	trē-bi	'wandering'
	uṇ-bi	'drinking'

(v) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE: This is made by adding to the verb base the non-past suffix /*-in-* ∞ *-n-*/ followed by the adjective marker *-i*. *-in-* occurs after verb bases of the 1st conjugation and *-n-* after remaining ones.

lāk-in-i 'that sacrifice(s)/will sacrifice'
grāmb-in-i 'that learn(s)/will learn'
ēnd-in-i 'that dance(s)/will dance'
kō-n-i 'that reap(s)/will reap'
nog-n-i 'that wash(es)/will wash'
sa-n-i 'that go(es)/will go'
tin-n-i 'that eat(s)/will eat'

3.14 Kuvi

(i) PRESENT TENSE: It is a periphrastic construction consisting of the present adverb of a verb plus the future tense forms of *man-* 'to be'.

tōs-si maʔi/manjaʔi 'I am showing.'
ve-ci maʔi/manjaʔi 'I am striking.'
hī-hi maʔi/manjaʔi 'I am giving.'

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is /*-d* (∞ *-id-*) ∞ *-n-* (∞ *-in-*)∞ *-ʔ-*/; *-d* occurs before the 2nd person sg. and pl. suffixes and *-n-* elsewhere except before the 1st person sg. suffix where *-ʔ-* occurs. The variants *-id-* and *-in-* occur in the general future tense forms of verbs belonging to Fitzerald's 1st conjugation[6]. The future tense is used for the habitual also.

6. Every transitive verb in Kuvi has two forms in the finite paradigms, viz., general and direct (or special). The direct form "is used when speaking to a person (or persons), or when being spoken to oneself; when either the speaker, or the person spoken to is the object of the verb, or is affected by the action of the verb." (so Fitzerald 1913: 40) The direct form is made by adding to the base the suffix *-a-* (in classes and 2), *-ta-* (in classes 3 and 4), *-ha-* (in class 5) and *-ja-* (in class 6).

hī- 'to give'

(a) General

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*hī-ʔ-ī*	(excl.)	*hī-n-omi*
		(incl.)	*hī-n-o*
2.	*hī-ḍ-i*		*hī-d-eri*
3m.	*hī-n-esi*		*hī-n-eri*
non-m.	*hī-ṇ-e*		*hī-n-u*

(b) Special

1.	*hīy-a-ʔ-i*	*hīy-a-n-omi*
2.	*hīy-a-d-i*	*hīy-a-d-eri*
3m.	*hīy-a-n-esi*	*hīy-a-n-eri*
non-m.	*hīy-a-n-e*	*hīy-a-n-u*

ven- 'to bear'

(a) General

1.	*ve-ʔ-ī-*	(excl.)	*ve-n-omi*
		(incl.)	*ve-n-o(hi)*
2.	*ven-j-i*		*ven-j-eri*
3m.	*ve-n-esi*		*ve-n-eri*
non-m.	*ve-n-e*		*ve-n-u*

(b) special

1.	*ven-ja-ʔ-i*	*ven-ja-n-omi*
2.	*ven-ja-d-i*	*ven-ja-d-eri*
3m.	*ven-ja-n-esi*	*ven-ja-n-eri*
non-m.	*ven-ja-n-e*	*ven-ja-n-u*

(iii) PERMISSIVE : The suffix is *-ap-* in the verbs of the 1st conjugation and *-mb-* in the verbs of the 6th conjugation, *-b-* after *hal-* 'to go' and *-p-* in the remaining verbs. In the affirmative it is added to the base and in the negative it is added after the negative *-ʔa-*; in both it is followed by the personal suffixes. "According to Fitzerald such forms are found only in the third person. On the other hand Schulze gives corresponding forms of the first person (p 117), e.g. *nānu wāpee* "I may come", *māmbu wāpomi/māro wāpo* "we may come" (excl. and incl.)." (so Burrow and Bhattacharya 1963:263).

vā-p-esi /vā-p-asi	"He may come, let him come."
vā-p-eri	"They(m.) „ , „ them „ "
vā-p-e	"She/it „ , „ her/it „ "
vā-p-u	"They(non-m.) „ , „ them "

(iv) PRESENT ADVERB : The suffix is *-i* after verbs of the 1st conjugation, *-hi* after those of the 2nd, *-si* after those of the 3rd, *-ci* after those of the 4th, *-hi* after those of the 5th and *-ji* after those of the 6th.

pāy-i	'beating'
hī-hi	'giving'
tōs-si	'showing'
ve-ci	'beating'
ḍik-hi	'breaking'
ven-ji	'hearing'

The form is extended by the addition of *-hi* except in certain periphrastic constructions, e.g. *tōs-si(hi)* 'showing'.

(v) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE : It is formed by adding to the future stem with the suffix /-*in*- ∞*n*-/ the adjective marker -*i*. The adjective participle has both general and special forms.

pāy-in-i (general)	}	'that beat(s)/will beat'
pāy-a-n-i (special)	}	

3.15. Kolami

(i) PRESENT-FUTURE TENSE : The suffix is -*at*- before the suffixes of the 1st and the 2nd persons; it has a zero variant before the suffixes of the 3rd person.

sī- 'to give'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*sī-at-un*	*sī-at-um*
2.	*sī-at-iv*	*sī-at-ir*
3m.	*sī-Ø-an*	*sī-Ø-ar*
non-m.	*sī-Ø-a(d)*	*sī-Ø-av*

In the Adilabad dialect the present-future suffix is -*sat*- before the suffixes of the 1st and the 2nd persons and -*s*- before those of the 3rd person

tin- 'to eat'

ti-sat-Ø	*ti-sat-um*
ti-sat-i(v)	*ti-sat-ir*
ti-s-an(d)	*ti-s-ar*
ti-s-ad	*ti-s-a-(v)*

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is *-dat-* before the suffixes of the 1st and the 2nd persons and *-d-* before those of the 3rd person.

1.	*sī-dat-un*	*sī-dat-um*
2.	*sī-dat-iv*	*sī-dat-ir*
3m.	*sī-d-an*	*sī-d-ar*
non-m.	*sī-d-a(d)*	*sī-d-av*

(iii) DURATIVE TENSE: The suffix is /*-d-* ∞ *-n-* ∞ *-un-*/. *-d-* occurs before the suffixes of the 1st person, *-un* before 3rd non-m. sg. which has a zero variant in this case and *-n-* before the rest of the suffixes and also before the 1st person inclusive pl. suffix *-am* in the hortative (in the Adilabad dialect). In the Adilabad dialect this construction denotes irrealis tense.

1.	*sī-d-un*	*sī-d-um*
2.	*sī-n-iv*	*sī-n-ir*
3m.	*sī-n-en*	*sī-n-er*
non-m.	*sī-un-∅*	*sī-n-ev*

In the Adilabad dialect, there is a hortative construction with the structure: Base *-n- am*/ *-aḍ* (1st incl. pl.)

sen-n-am/*-aḍ* 'Let us (incl.) go!'
van-n-am/*-aḍ* 'Let us (incl.) come!'
vēl-n-am/*-aḍ* 'Let us (incl.) ask!'
alṅ-n-am/*-aḍ* 'Let us (incl.) kill!'

(iv) PERMISSIVE: The Adilabad dialect contains the permissive construction with the suffix *-k-* which is followed only by the 3rd person suffixes.

vak-k-an(d) 'Let him come !'
vak-k-ar 'Let them(m.) come !'
vak-k-ad 'Let her/it come !'
vak-k-a(v) 'Let them (non-m.) come !'

(v) PRESENT ADVERB : The suffix is *-a* in the Wardha dialect and *-san* in the Adilabad dialect.

tin-a/ti-san 'eating'
tūl-a/tū-san 'running'
ōl-a / ōl-san 'seeing'

(vi) FUTURE GERUND : The suffix is *-ak*.

tin-ak 'about to eat'
ōl-ak 'about to see'
er-ak 'about to become'

This gerund is always followed by inflected forms of *tōt-*, the negative auxiliary verb, the whole construction denoting negation in future, e.g.

var-ak tōt-e-n 'I will not come.'

(vii) CONTINUATIVE ADJECTIVE : The suffix is *-a*.

tin-a 'that is / are eating'
kork-a 'that is/are biting'
tūl-a 'that is/are running'

(viii) FUTURE (NON-PAST) ADJECTIVE : The suffix is *-eka*.

tin-eka 'that eat(s)/will eat'
kork-eka 'that bite(s)/will bite'
var-eka 'that come(s)/will come'

Participal nouns are formed from this by adding the suffixes: *-ran* (1. sg.), *–ram* (1 pl.) *–niv* (2 sg.) *–rir* (2 pl.), *–nd* (3m. sg.), *–r* (3m. pl.), *–d* (3 non–m. sg.), *–v* (3 non–m. pl.), e.g. *kalk-eka-ran* 'I am the man who does', etc.

(ix) Limitative: This consists of the base followed by the suffix *-n–* which is followed by *–anteṅ* (only in the Adilabad dialect).

van–n–anteṅ 'until (subject) come(s)'
ōl–n–anteṅ 'until (subject) see(s)'

3.16. **Naiki(Ch.)**

(i) Present–Future Tense: The suffix is *-t–* in the irregular verbs but *–l–* in the regular verbs (commonly before 3rd non–masc. sg. and pl. suffixes). This contruction is used to express habitual action also.

an– 'to be'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*an–t–an*	*an–t–am*
2.	*an–t–i*	*an–t–ir*
3m.	*an–t–en*	*an-t–er*
non–m.	*an–t–un* / *an–l-en*	*an-t–e* / *an-l-e*

Also note: *var-l–en* 'it/she is coming', *aṛg–el–en* '(pulse) is beating', *tin–l–en* 'it/she eats', etc.

Forms with the suffix *-ent-* are more common, e.g. *āṛ-p-ent-am* 'we are making him play', *puc-ent-an* 'I am

opening'. *ēnd-ent-am* 'we dance', *kak-ent-i* 'you (sg.) are doing', *ḍig-ent-un* '(flood) is subsiding', *pāṛ-ent-e* 'they(f.) are singing'.

The present continuous action is expressed by the periphrastic construction in which the first member is a verb base with the suffix *-c, -cik*/ *-cig* (*-sik*/*-sig*) and the second member the present-future tense form of *an-* 'to be', *aṛka in-cik anlen* 'pot is being filled', *pōd kuy-cik anlen* 'sun is appearing', *tin-cig antun* 'she is eating', *pāmku ser-cik anle* 'snakes are going'.

(ii) FUTURE TENSE : The suffix is/*-at-* ∞*-d-* ∞*-an*/. *-an-* occurs before the 3rd non-masc. sg. suffix which has a zero variant after it; *-d-* occurs before the other 3rd personal suffixes and *-at-* occurs before the suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons. In verbs of the type(C)Vṛ, the suffix *d* changes to *ḍ* and the base-final *ṛ* also changes to *ḍ*, e.g. *suḍ-ḍ-an* 'he will fry' (:*suṛ-*), *iḍ-ḍ-an* 'he will put' '(: *iṛ-*). The change of *d* to *ḍ* in such cases does not seem to be the "result of an old *sandhi*" as claimed by Bhattacharya (1961:100).

kak- 'to do'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*kak-at-un*	*kak-at-um*
2.	*kak-at-i*	*kak-at-ir*
3m.	*kak-d-an*	*kak-d-ar*
non-m.	*kak-an-∅*	*kak-d-a*

(iii) GERUNDIVE : The suffix is *-eka.*

ser-eka 'going'
roap-eka 'sowing'
oyk-eka 'seeing'

3.17. Parji

(i) PRESENT TENSE: The suffix is *-m-*. The Northern and the Southern dialects differ from each other in the vowel that occurs after *-m-;* the former dialect shows *e* in the 1st sg. and 3m. sg. and pl. and *o* elsewhere, while the latter dialect uniformly contains *o* in all the persons.

ver- 'to come'

Northern dialect:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*ver-m-en*	*ver-m-om*
2.	*ver-m-ot*	*ver-m-or*
3m.	*ver-m-ed*	*ver-m-er*
nom-m.	*ver-m-o*	*ver-m-ov*

Southern dialect:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*ver-m-on*	*ver-m-om*
2.	*ver-m-ot*	*ver-m-or*
3m.	*ver-m-od*	*ver-m-or*
non-m.	*ver-m-o*	*ver-m-ov*

According to Burrow and Bhattacharaya (1953:49) "the Southern forms of the present tense are more original".

Verbs having alternate stems ending in *p/t* (including the causatives) have another variant ending in *k* (i. e., *p/t* is replaced by *k*) before the present tense suffix in the Northern dialect. The Southern dialect employs the *p-* stem itself in in the present tense. (The non-causative verbs containing

a consonant before *p*/*t* add a help vowel *u* before the *k* of the Northern dialect and the *p* of the southern dialect.)

payp-/*payt-* 'to divide'

Northern dialect:

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*payuk-m-en*	*payuk-m-om*
2.	*payuk-m-ot*	*payuk-m-or*
3m.	*payuk-m-ed*	*payuk-m-er*
non-m.	*payuk-m-o*	*payuk-m-ov*

Southern dialect:

1.	*payup-m-on*	*payup-m-om*
2.	*payup-m-ot*	*payup-m-or*
3m.	*payup-m-ed*	*payup-m-or*
non-m.	*payup-m-o*	*payup-m-ov*

Examples for causative verbs: Northern dialect *ūbik-m-en*, Southern dialect *ūbip-m-on* (: *ūbip-* 'to make to speak'), etc.

An extended form of the present tense is made by the addition of an extra suffix, viz. *t* after *m*. These two consonants are separated by the vowel *o* in the Southern dialect in all the forms. But in the North-Western dialect the intervening vowel is *e* before personal suffixes beginning with *e* and *o* before the personal suffixes beginning with *o*. In this construction the personal suffixes in the Southern dialect are the same as those in the North Western dialect. This construction is much commoner in the Southern than in the

North-Western dialect. There does not seem to be any semantic distinction between the simple and the extended forms of the present tense.

ver- 'to come'

North-Western dialect :

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*ver-met-en*	*ver-mot-om*
2.	*ver-mot-ot*	*ver-mot-or*
3m.	*ver-met-ed*	*ver-met-er*
non-m.	*ver-mot-o*	*ver-mot-ov*

Southern dialect :

1.	*ver-mot-en*	*ver-mot-om*
2.	*ver-mot-ot*	*ver-mot-or*
3m.	*ver-mot-ed*	*ver-mot-er*
non-m.	*ver-mot-a*	*ver-mot-ov*

(ii) FUTURE TENSE : The future suffix is *-ra-* in the North-Western dialect and *-iya-* in the Southern dialect. In *l-* ending verbs the *r* of *-ra-* changes to *l*, e.g. *tūl-l-ad* 'he will run'.

cūṛ- 'to see'

North-Western dialect :

1.	*cūṛ-ra-n*	*cūṛ-ra-m*
2.	*cūṛ-ra-t*	*cūṛ-ra-r*
3m.	*cūṛ-ra-d*	*cūṛ-ra-r*
non-m.	*cūṛ-ra-Ø*	*cūṛ-ra-v*

Southern dialect :

1.	*cūṛ-iya-n*	*cūṛ-iya-m*
2.	*cūṛ-iya-t*	*cūṛ-iya-r*
3m.	*cūṛ-iya-d*	*cūṛ-iya-r*
non-m.	*cūṛ-iya-∅*	*cūṛ-iya-v*

The suffix has a variant *-ta-* after verbs that have alternate stems ending in *p*/*t* (including causatives)[7].

payp- / *payt-* 'to divide'

pay-ta-n	*pay-ta-m*
pay-ta-t	*pay-ta-r*
pay-ta-d	*pay-ta-r*
pay-ta-∅	*pay-ta-r*

Another future suffix *-da-* is found (with a variant *-ḍa-* after the verb *uṇ-* 'to drink') mostly after *n-* ending verbs, e.g. *cen-da-n* 'I will go', *tin-da-n* 'I will eat', *uṇ-ḍa-n* 'I will drink', *en-da-n* 'I will say', etc. Moreover, in the collection of Burrow and Bhattacharya some verbs have alternate future stems consisting of *r* or *d*, e.g. *cāju-ra-n* or *cāj-da-n* 'I will do'. They also state (1953: ix, 55) that according to their informants the *-da-* future suffix is extensively used in a dialect not investigated by them, viz., the North-Eastern dialect, e.g. *ver-da-n* for *ver-ra-n* 'I will come'.

7. In these verbs the formal difference between the past and the future tenses lies only in the vowel that follows the *t*. It is *a* throughout the future tense paradigm and therefore should be analysed as belonging to the future tense marker. In the past tense the vowel following *t* is part of the personal suffix (it is *e* before the suffixes of 1st sg. and 3rd m.sg. and pl. and *o* elsewhere).

The future tense, in addition to its basic employment in describing future actions is also used to express habitual actions, e.g. *ā kocilti 'iduṅ aduṅ' endar.* 'in that district they say *'iduṅ aduṅ'*.

(iii) IMPERFECT AND CONDITIONAL: The imperfect suffix is /*-ri-* ∞ *-ru-*/ in the North-Western dialect and /*-iyi-* ∞ *-iyu-*/ in the Southern dialect. *-ri-*/*-iyi-* occurs before the 1st sg. and pl. suffixes and *-ru*/*iyu-* occurs elsewhere. It has the variant /*-di-* ∞ *-du-*/ after *n-* ending verbs and /*-ti-* ∞ *-tu-*/ after verbs having alternate stems in *p*/*t*. Thus, the structure of the imperfect is closely similar to that of the future except for the vowel of the tense suffix.

"The Imperfect expresses continual or habitual action in past time:" *ok bayragi muṭṭi aḍi aḍi cullid ge* 'a religous mendicant was wandering about asking for alms', *podi podi cūṛ cūṛi cendu gōli* 'a jackal was going along continually looking up'." (so Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953:56).

cūṛ- 'to see'

North-Western dialect:

1.	*cūṛ-ri-n*	*cūṛ-ru-m*
2.	*cūṛ-ru-t*	*cūṛ-ru-r*
3m.	*cūṛ-ri-d*	*cūṛ-ri-r*
non-m.	*cūṛ-ru-∅*	*cūṛ-ru-v*

Southern dialect:

1.	*cūṛ-iyi-n*	*cūṛ-iyu-m*
2.	*cūṛ-iyu-t*	*cūṛ-iyu-r*
3m.	*cūṛ-iyi-d*	*cūṛ-iyi-r*
non-m.	*cūṛ-iyi-∅*	*cūṛ-iyu-v*

The addition of the particle *min* to the imperfect makes a a conditional: *cūṛrin min* 'I would see/I would have seen', *cūṛrid min* 'he would see/would have seen'.

(iv) IMPERATIVE: An imperative is formed with the suffix *-ek-* with forms in 1st sg. and all the 3rd person forms (*e* of *-ek-* changes to *o* before 3rd non-m. sg. and pl. suffixes which begin with *o*). The 1st person pl. in this has two forms with *-am* for the exclusive and *-ar* for the inclusive, which follow the base. The *-a-* in these must probably be analysed as the variant of the imperative marker. Verbs with alternating stems in *p/t* use the *p-* stem in the imperative, *culpeked* 'let him rise'.

cūṛ- 'to see'

1.	*cūṛ-ek-en*	(excl.)	*cūṛ-a-m*
		(incl.)	*cūṛ-a-r*
3m.	*cūṛ-ek-ed*		*cūṛ-ek-er*
non-m.	*cūṛ-ok-o*		*cūṛ-ok-ov*

(ii) POTENTIAL: This is recorded only in 1st excl. pl., incl. pl., 2 sg. and pl. The suffix is *-ut-*. Verbs with alternating stem in *p/t* use the *p-* stem, e.g. *culp-ut-ut* 'you (sg.) may see'.

1.	excl. pl.	*cūṛ-ut-um*	'Let us (excl.) see!'
	incl. pl.	*cūṛ-ut-umur*	'Let us (incl.) see!'
2.	sg.	*cūṛ-ut-ut*	'You (sg.) may see'.
	pl.	*cūṛ-ut-ur*	'You (pl.) may see'.

tintumur aru veṛka cājutmur
'Let us eat and make merry.'

cendan ciric cītut.

'You (sg.) should give it on the day of departure.'

koppil venoḍel culputur.

'If you (pl.) hear a commotion, you may get up.'

(vi) NON-PAST PARTICIPLE: There are three suffixes, viz., *-oḍ*,[8] *-ek* and *-em* with different shades of meaning (temporal (and conditional)).

-oḍ: *er-oḍ* 'while being, if (subject) is'

men-oḍ 'while living, if (subject) lives'

ver-oḍ 'while coming, if (subject) comes'

vāni veroḍ pōdram. 'If it rains, we will get wet.'

pōkal ā̃ḍoḍ cīkoḍ erra. 'When the day draws to a close, it will become dark.'

-ek: *nīr vakp-ek ṭoḍemen* 'Don't touch the water when it is boiling.'

ole ver-ek gaḍin pokra. 'On going home, she will speak to the herdsman.'

-em: *aṛ-em eke* 'while he was crying'

netta pāp men-em cūṛaya 'The dog, when it is a baby, does not see.'

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8. This may be related to the suffix *-ḍun* in Old Telugu which denotes an action that has been completed a short while ago, e.g. *anu-ḍun* 'when / as soon as (subject) said', *kaviyu-ḍun* 'when / as soon as (subject) attacked.'

The suffix *-arre*, *-are* added to a verb base means 'until', e.g. *cay-are* 'until (he) dies', *cīkoḍ er-arre* 'till it becomes dark'.

(vii) HABITUAL ADJECTIVE: It is formed by adding the adjective suffix *-an* to the future stem of a verb (one of the *a*'s is lost).

cok-r-an 'that climb(s) / will climb'
ven-d-an 'that hear(s) / will hear'
vīt-iy-an 'that sow(s) / will sow'
nil-t-an 'that stand(s) / will stand'
taṛu-r-an 'that is/are hot'
pōd-r-an 'that is/are wet'

Participial nouns (only in the 3rd person) are formed by adding 3rd personal suffixes to the habitual adjective:

cī-r-an-ed 'the man that gives'
cī-r-an-er 'the men that give'
cī-r-an-a 'the woman/animal/thing that gives, is giving'
cī-r-an-ov 'the women/animals/things that give'

The neut. sg. form also functions as a verbal noun of action, *gōli aṛrano* 'the howling of the jackal', *koyrano* 'harvesting'.

3.18. Gadba (Ollari)

(i) PRESENT PROGRESSIVE TENSE: This is formed by adding to a verb base the present-future forms of *in-* 'to be'. Verbs having alternate stems in *p/t* (including causatives) substitute *k* for their final consonant in this construction.

The *i* of *in–* is assimilated to *u* when the preceding verb base is monosyllabic and contains *u* or *o*.

sūṛ– + in–da–n		'I am seeing.'
nuṛ– + un–da–n		'I am wrapping.'
tinḍuk– + in–da–n		'I am feeding.'
narupk– + in–da–ṭ		'You(sg.) are frightening.'

(ii) PRESENT-FUTURE TENSE: The present-future stem formative is /*-da* ∝ *-ta-* ~ *–ya-*/. Verbs having alternate stems in *p*/*t* use the *t*– stem for the present-future. In five verbs ending in *n*, the suffix is *–ya–* and the base-final *n* is dropped before it; the verbs are *pun- (pu–y-)* 'to know', *tin- (ti–y–)* 'to eat', *man– (ma–y-)* 'to be', *ven-- (ve–y–)* 'to hear', and *sen– (se–y-)* 'to go'. *-da–* occurs in the remaining verbs.

vanḍ-da–n	'I (will) cook'
va-da-n	'I (will) come'
pē–ta–n	'I (will) appear'
kā-ta–n	'I (will) watch'
pu-ya-n	'I (will) know'
ti–ya–n	'I (will) eat'

(iii) NON–PAST PARTICIPLE: The suffix is *–iṅ* (*i* changes to *u* after monosyllabic bases containing *u* or *o*).

un–uṅ	'while drinking'
īl-iṅ	'while falling'
val–iṅ	'while flying'

(iv) HABITUAL ADJECTIVE: It is made by adding the adjective marker *-an* to the present-future (one of the *a*'s is dropped).

sī-d-an 'that give(s)/will give'
pok-d-an 'that speak(s)/will speak'
vanḍ-d-an 'that cook(s)/will cook'
pu-y-an 'that know(s)/will know'

3.19. Kurux

(i) PRESENT TENSE: The suffix is /*-d-* ∞ *-n-* ∞ *-∅-*/; *n* occurs before the 3rd hum pl. suffix, -∅- before 3rd non-masc. sg. suffix and *-d-* elsewhere. In the female speech (when women speak among themselves but not to men) the *-d-* suffix is dropped before 1st sg. and 1st excl. pl. suffixes (moreover, there is a slight variation in the vowel of the pronominal suffix as indicated by the following paradigm; the female speech forms are given in parentheses). The subjunctive meaning is expressed by adding the word *nekkʔā* 'to the present tense forms, e.g., *esden nekkʔā* 'I may break'.

esʔ- 'to break'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*es-d-an*	(excl.)	*es-d-am*
	(*es-ʔ-ēn*)		(*es-ʔ-ēm*)
		(incl.)	*es-d-at*
2.	*es-d-ay*		*es-d-ar*
	(*is-d-i*)		(*es-d-ay*)
3m.	*es-d-as*		*es-n-ar*
			(*es-n-ay*)
non-m.	*isʔ-∅-i*		

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is *-o-*.

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*esʔ-o-n*	(excl.)	*esʔ-o-m*
		(incl.)	*esʔ-o-t*

2.	*es?-o-y*	*es?-o-r*
3m.	*es?-o-s*	*es?-o-r*
non-m.	*es?-o-Ø*	

(iii) PRESENT ADVERB: The suffix is *-nū;* it may also be followed by *-tī*. *-num* and *-nūtim* are the emphasized forms. The form with *-num* may also be repeated. When intensity is to be denoted, the adverb *darā* 'also, even' is affixed to the participle.

es-nū
es-nū tī
es-num
es-nū tim } 'breaking'

There is another form with the suffix *-ā* followed by *xanē* (emphatic *xanem*), e.g., *es?-ā xanē/xanem* 'on breaking, in the very act of breaking'.

Another form with the suffix *-t?ā* or *-ta?a* means 'till, upto', e.g., *bij-t?ā*, *bij-ta?ā* 'till day-break.'

(iv) NON-PAST ADJECTIVE: The suffix is *-ū*.

is-ū 'that break(s)/will break'
pāṛ-ū 'that sing(s)/will sing'
īr-ū 'that (sees)/will see'

The adjective participle before the word *bīrī* 'time' takes the suffix *-ō*.

ōn-ō bīrī 'eating time'
kāl-ō bīrī 'time for going'

In addition, verbal nouns with the suffix *-nā* may also be used as non-past adjectives.

pāṛ-nā pellō 'singing girl'
on̄-nā ālō 'eatable things'
muñj-nā ujjnā 'perishable life'

8.20. **Malto**

(i) PRESENT TENSE: The suffix is / *-n-* ∞ *-i-*; *-n-* occurs before the 2nd sg. and pl. and 3rd pl. suffixes and *-i-* elsewhere.

band- 'to draw'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*band-i-n*	(excl.)	*band-i-m*
		(incl.)	*band-i-t*
2.	*band-n-e*		*band-n-er*
f.	*band-i-ni*		
3m.	*band-i-h*		*band-n-er*
non-m.	*band-i-th*		

(ii) FUTURE TENSE: The suffix is *-e-* with a variant *-en-* before suffixes beginning with a vowel, i.e. 2nd sg. and 3rd non-m.

1.	*band-e-n*	(excl.)	*band-e-m*
		(incl.)	*band-e-t*
2.	*band-en-e*		*band-e-r*
f.	*band-en-i*		
3m.	*band-e-h*		*band-e-r*
non-m.	*band-en-ith*		

(iii) PRESENT ADVERB: The suffix is *-ne-;* in addition *-le*, *-i* and *-e* also are found.

band-ne/band-le/band-i/band-e 'drawing'

dary-ne/darc-le/darc-i/darc-e 'catching'

There are two conjunctive participles with the suffixes *-no* and *-ati.* The participle with *-no* means 'while V-ing' and that with *-ati* means 'because (subject) has V-en'.

ēn tigen mannte uṭrno ṭunḍken.

'I saw the monkey *falling* from the tree.'

ēn ahin ṭōkek argno ṭunḍken.

'I saw him *mounting* the hill.'

jaṛath posati maler qale kudoti pāryner.

'*Because* rain *has fallen,* people are able to work in the land.'

The adverbial participle in *-ne* is followed by the personal suffixes and it denotes action accompanying the action of the main verb of the sentence.

ṭunḍ- 'to see'

1.	*ṭunḍ-ne-n*	(excl.)	*ṭunḍ-ne-m*
		(incl.)	*ṭunḍ-ne-t*
2.	*ṭunḍ-n-e*		*ṭunḍ-ne-r*
(f.	*ṭunḍ-n-i*)		
3m.	*ṭunḍ-ne-h*		*ṭunḍ-ne-r*
non-m.	*ṭunḍ-n-ith*		

ēn ṭūde piṭnen uṛarken.

'*While killing* the tiger, I was wounded.'

nīn jāgun lapne beqqe.

'*While eating* rice, you (sg.) was choked.'

(iv) PRESENT ADJECTIVE: The suffix is *-u.*

baj-u 'that strike(s)'
dary-u 'that catch(es)'

There is another participle with the suffix *-o* in Malto. The negative auxiliary verb *mal-* 'not to be' is always added only to this form. By taking the personal suffixes, this participle serves as the basis for the formation of the optative paradigm.

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*band-o-n*	(excl.)	*band-o-m*
		(incl.)	*band-o-t*
2.	*band-o-∅*		*band-o-r*
3 m.	*band-o-h*		*band-o-r*
non-m.	*band-o-th*		

3.21. Brahui

(i) PRESENT INDEFINITE TENSE: The suffix is *-i-* with an alternant *-ē-* in a few verbs (morphological conditioning). *-i-* has a variant *-e-* before 3rd sg. suffix which has a zero variant here.

bin- 'to hear'

	Sg.		Pl.	
1.	*bin-i-v*	'I may hear.'	*bin-i-n*	'We may hear.'
2.	*bin-i-s*	'You (sg.) „	*bin-i-re*	'You (pl.) „
3.	*bin-e-∅*	'He/she/it "	*bin-i-r*	'They „

Examples for the *-ē-* suffix : *kun-ē-v* 'I may eat' *ka?-ē-s* 'you (sg.) may die', *xal-ē-n* 'we may strike'.

(ii) PESENT-FUTURE TENSE : It is formed by suffixing *-a-* to the present indefinite forms of all persons expect 2nd pl. and 3rd sg. The 2nd pl. form is identical in both the tenses and in the 3rd sg. the suffix *-ik* occurs.

	Sg.		Pl.	
1.	*bin-i-va*	'I (will) hear.'	*bin-i-n-a*	'We (will) hear.'
2.	*bin-i-s-a*	'You(sg.) „ '	*bin-i-r-e*	'You (pl.) „ '
3.	*bin-ik-∅*	'He/she/it „ '	*bin-i-r-a*	'They „ '

(iii) PROBABLE FUTURE : The suffix is *-o-*.

	Sg.		Pl.	
1.	*bin-o-ṭ*	'I will (probably) hear.'	*bin-o-n*	'We will probably) hear.'
2.	*bin-o-s*	'You (sg.)" ,	*bin-o-re*	'You (pl.) " '
3.	*bin-o-e*	'He/she/it „ '	*bin-o-r*	'They „ '

(See § 4.21 for the corresponding non-past negative tenses.)

(iv) PRESENT ADVERB : The suffix is *-(i)sa.*

bis-isa 'baking'

ill-isa, *illē-sa* } 'leaving'

xul-isa, *xuli-sa* } 'fearing'

kar-isa 'doing'

(v) PRESENT ADJECTIVE : The suffix *-ok*.

bin-ok 'that hear(s)'
ill-ok 'that leave(s)'
xul-ok 'that fear(s)'
kar-ok 'that do(es)'
pār-ok 'that says'
tir-ok
ēt-ok } 'that give(s)'
c-ok

COMPARATIVE STUDY

3.22. Reconstructed Suffixes

The non-past suffixes that can be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian are: 1. **-pp* (∞ **-v-*), 2. **-kk-* (∞ **-k-*), 3. **-tt-* (∞ **-t-*) 4. **-um*, 5. **n*. Another suffix **-o-* can be reconstructed to Proto-North Dravidian (§ 3.23). The development and the distribution of each of these suffixes will be outlined in the following paragraphs.

3.23. **-pp-* (∞ **-v-*)

This suffix is mostly prevalent is the South Dravidian subgroup including Tuḷu.[9] In Tamil and Old

9. The present and the future tense suffixes in Tuḷu are virtually identical, the difference between the two tenses being largely signified by the usage of the two different variants of the labial suffix, i e. one stop and the other fricative, e.g., *tū-p-ɛ* 'I am seeing' versus *tū-v-ɛ* 'I will see', *par-p-ɛ* 'I am drinking', *paru-v-ɛ* 'I will drink'. The usage of the labial suffix for the non-past tenses in Tuḷu is one of the strong evidences for its inclusion in the South Dravidian subgroup; see my paper, "The position of Tuḷu in Dravidian".

Malayalam this suffix occurs before all personal endings except that of the 3rd neut. (sg. and pl.) and also in participial nouns. Besides, in Old Malayalam this suffix is found to occur in the aorist tense also. Kota shows *v* in the future tense; some irregular verbs contain this suffix in the present-future tense. The original participial noun functions also as the non-past adjective in this language. The *-v-* suffix which is the past tense marker in Kota must be related to this non-past suffix. The present and the past tense forms of Toda contain a *p* in the 1st and 2nd person sg. and 1st pl. suffixes This might also have had some connection with the original present-future suffix. Koḍagu, like Tamil-Malayalam contains both *v* and *p(p)* as morphologically conditioned variants It is to be noted that in Koḍagu there is only one form for the 3rd person and that it contains the labial suffix; this reduction of gender and number contrast in this language is an innovation. Old Kannaḍa had both the variants *-v-* and *-pp-* but in the later stages of the language the *-v-* allomorph spread to all the verbs at the expense of *-pp-*. Moreover, in Kannaḍa the labial suffix has been extended to the 3rd neuter sg. and pl. forms also (originally *-um* was there in these forms, see § 3.26).

The reflexes of this are very rare in the Central and the North Dravidian subgroups. In the Central subgroup only Konḍa, Kui and Kuvi show traces of it. The simultaneative suffix *-pu* of Konda is the reflex of it. The *p* and *b* in the Kui present adverb with the suffixes *-pi* (after verbs of the 2nd conjugation (not ending in *p*)), *-pki* (in a few verbs) and *-bi* (in many verbs of the 4th conugation) are obviously derived from this. The permissive paradigm in Kuvi contains

the suffix *-p-* (with the variants *-b-* and *-mb-*) which should be traced back th the PDr. suffix under discussion.

In the North Dravidian subgroup Brahui is the only language that shows the *-p-* non-past suffix; it occurs regularly between the base and the negative marker in all the non-past negative paradigms. It has already been noted that for PNDr. a non-past suffix, viz., **-o-* can be reconstructed. The suffix *-o-* occurs in Kuṛux in the future and also in the present conditional (see Batsch 1866 : 261-62). Malto has a participle with the suffix *-o-* and it serves as the basis for the optative paradigm. In Brahui the suffix *-ō-* occurs in the probable future, past conditional (*S-ō* + past of the auxiliary verb), and noun of obligation (*s-ō-ī*). Many scholars have suggested that the PNDr. **-o-* is the development of the PDr. **-v-* non-past suffix.[10] If this explanation is correct, we must assume that in the pre-North Dravidian stage, the allomorph **-v-* first spead to all verbs at the expense of the other allomorph **-pp-* and then it changed to *-o-* at the PNDr. stage. On the other hand, Jules Bloch (1954 : 74) connects the Brahui present adjective with the suffix *-ok* to the Balochi verbal adjective with the suffix *-ōk*.[11] Therefore this Brahui suffix has nothing to do with the PNDr. **o* suffix.

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10. *LSI*, Vol. IV : 415, 625; Ramaswami Aiyar, "The Kurukh verb", "The Brahui verb" (*BJORS* 15 : 117); Jules Bloch 1954 : 75, and M. B. Emeneau 1962 : 63.

11. Compare also the present participles of Pashto. They are formed by adding to the base "*-unkay* (for masc. sg.), *-unke* (for fem. sg.) and *-unki* (for both genders pl.) — e.g., *tlúnkay* 'going (masc.)', *tlúnke* 'going (fem.)', *tlúnki* 'going (pl.)'." (*A Short Grammatical Outline of Pashto* by D. A. Shafeev (1964 : 44).

In the Tamil-Koḍagu group of languages this suffix has two morphologically conditioned variants *-pp- and *-v-; the former occurs after "strong verbs" and the latter after "weak verbs". The single -p- that occurs after verbs ending in a nasal and the strong verbs in *l* and *ḷ* (which have variants ending in *ṟ* and *ṭ* respectively before -p-) can be considered as simplification of -pp- and therefore it need not be taken as a third allomorph. Old Kannaḍa also preserves these two variants although in later periods -v- has been regularised as the only variant. There is reason to believe that the morphophonemic variation in the suffixes that forms the basis for the classification of verbs as "strong" *versus* "weak" goes back to the Proto-Dravidian period since apart from South Dravidian Konḍa, Pengo and Parji-Gadba (verbs with alternate stem in *p/t versus* others) have evidence for a similar classification of verbs. Therefore it is probable that both the variants *-pp- and *-v- go back to Proto-Dravidian. On the other hand, the intransitive-transitive signification that is attached to the allomorphs *-v- and *-pp- in a class of verbs in the Tamil-Koḍagu group is as noted in § 1.28 is a later innovation in that group. It is the result of extension of the principle, intransitive (N)P: transitive PP, extensively found in derivative suffixes, to the tense suffixes in this group. Toda and Kota seem to have lost this alternation in the non-past suffix although it remains in the non-past suffix although it remains in the (erstwhile) past suffix in them.

3.24. *-kk- (∞ *-k-)

The reflexes of this suffix occur in the following languages. Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda, Koḍagu, Kannaḍa, Gonḍi, the Kolami-Parji subgroup and probably also Brahui.

In Tamil-Malayalam (and other languages that are closely related to them) the strong verb formative *-kk-* occurs only before non-past suffixes but not before the past suffixes and the negative suffixes. Therefore it may be considered as a non-past suffix at least from the historical point of view. Moreover, in *Caṅkam* Tamil *-k-* occurs as the future suffix in the 1st person sg. and pl in one type of future formation: *varu-ku* 'I will come', *varu-k-am* 'we will come', etc. In *Caṅkam* Tamil *-pp-* and *-v-* have free variants *-kkuv-* and *-kuv-*; the latter seem to be combinations of two non-past suffixes. The present-future suffix *-kv-* of Kota is related to Old Tamil *-kkuv-*, e g., Old Tamil *koṭu-kkuv-ēn̲* : Kota *koṛ kv-ē* 'I will give'.

The present tense suffix *-kin̲r̲-/kir̲-* of Tamil, which does not occur in the very ancient literature but appears only in the beginning of the Middle Tamil period. must also belong here. The present tense suffix of Malayalam - (early inscriptional) *-inr̲-* and (modern) *-unn-* and the present adverbial suffix *-r* of Kota are derived from Ta. *-kin̲r̲*. This suffix has attracted the attention of many scholars and each of them gave different explanations for its origin. Caldwell (1856 : 494) following Graul and Gundert (as mentioned by him), explained *-kin̲r̲-* as a combination of *k* "a sign of the future in poetical Tamil" plus the word *in̲r̲u* 'now' here used as a sign of present-time, *-kin̲r̲-* later became *-kir̲-* by the dropping of the nasal. According to Ramaswami Aiyar (1938a : 766; 1938b : 32) *-kin̲r̲-* is the result of wrong splitting of forms like *ākin̲r̲u* it became', *ceykin̲r̲u* 'it did', *pāṭin̲r̲u* 'it sang', etc. which though morphologically are 3rd neut. sg. past finite forms sometimes contain present

tense meaning also in classical literature. He thinks that the origin of *-kin̲r̲-* was forgotten at a particular stage and personal endings were added to it and "thus a new set of distinctive present tense formations came into existence, these becoming permanently fixed in literature in the post-*Saṅgam* period" Jules Bloch (1954 : 77), on the other hand, considers *-kir̲-* to be an auxiliary without independent life and assigns to it the meaning "to be".

M. Andronov, in a recent article entitled "Hints regarding the origin of the present tense suffix *kin̲r̲* in Tamil" (1961) refuted the views of Caldwell and Jules Bloch and offered a more plausible and satisfactory explanation. Firstly, following Jules Bloch to some extent, he suggested that *-kin̲r̲-* may be the past stem of the verb *kil-* 'to be able' which is affixed to another base to express present tense. But there are three objections for this solution : 1. The past stem of *kil-* is not *kin̲r̲-* but *kir̲r̲-* (see *DED* 1307). 2. Generally auxiliaries are affixed only to participles but not to verb bases; in this case *kin̲r̲* directly follows the verb-base. 3. As noted by Andronov, the distribution of *k and kk* of *kin̲r̲* suggests that it is a suffix rather than the initial consonant of a verb. Accordingly he (*op. cit:* 148 f.) contends that *kin̲r̲* consists of the aorist-future suffix *k/kk* and the past stem of the verb *il-*. However, he is not definite in assigning any meaning to this verb. He (*op. cit*: 150) observes that "it had had specific lexical meaning" and gradually it "grew more and more abstract and then completely died away". It is to be suspected whether this *il-* is not the same as the negative verb *il-*. Note that the meaning "negation" is not inherent in this

verb but is expressed by the following (negative) suffix. Therefore the meaning of *il*– can be taken as 'to be' and not 'to be not' and we can think that this verb is involved in this construction. To conclude, the present tense construction in Tamil is a periphrasis of non–past participle (with the suffix *k*/*kk*)+the past tense forms of the verb *il*- 'to be'. -*kiṟ*- is evidently a later development of -*kiṉṟ*- by the elison of the nasal. In colloquial Tamil –*kiṟ*– in weak verbs is reduced to -*r*–. The same development seems to have taken place in the Kota present adverbial participle also.

In Kota in addition to the present–future suffix -*kv*–, the potential also contains the –*k*- suffix; and a suffix *k*/*g* occurs in the present–future 3rd person forms of some irregular verbs. The voluntative in Toda contains the suffix -*k*–, e.g. *kīy-k–in* 'I will do'.

Old Kannaḍa contains a suffix –*ku*(*m*)/–*gu*(*m*) in the 3rd person forms of aorist future. These correspond to the Old Tamil 3rd person (other than hum. pl.) non–past forms with the suffix –*um* (preceeded by –*kk*- in strong verbs).

Old Ka.	Old Ta.	
ir–*kum*	*iru*–*kkum*	'He/she/it/they (neut.) will be.'
nil–*kum*	*niṟ*–*kum*	' ,, ,, stand.'
āḷ–*gum*	*āḷ*–*um*	' ,, ,, rule.'
bar–*kum*	*var*–*um*	' ,, ,, come.'

Although the forms in the two languages are related there are two differences in their structure and function: (i) In Old Tamil the forms take all the 3rd person subjects except human plural while in Old Kannaḍa they take also the

human plural subject. (ii) In Old Tamil *kk* before *-um* occurs only in strong verbs while in Old Kannada the suffix appears as *-kum-* / *-gum* in all verbs. There are reasons to assume that the changes in Kannada are responsible for these differences. Old Tamil and Old Telugu agree with each other in not employing the forms with Ta. *-um*: Te. *-unu* for 3rd hum. pl. and therefore they represent the proto-situation. Kannada has extended these forms to the 3rd hum. pl. also. Since the classification "strong" versus "weak" in verbs in all probability goes back to the PDr. period, the generalization of the suffix as *-kum* (the *k* of which was originally found only in the strong verbs) in Kannaḍa is also a later development.

In Gonḍi the suffix *-k-* (with the variant *-ak-*) occurs in the 1st and the 2nd persons of the future tense. In Koya the irrealis suffix *-k'ō* and the hortative *-k'-* are also derived from this proto-suffix.

In Kui two of the allomorphs of the present participial suffix, viz., *-ki* and *pki* contain a *-k-* suffix.

Kolami and Naiki show the *-k-* suffix in the future gerund as well as in the future adjective and also in the permissive construction of the Adilabad dialect of Kolami. In the Northern dialect of Parji, verbs having alternate stems in *p/t* substitute *k* in the place of *p/t* before the present tense suffix *m* (and also in the imperative 2nd sg.). A comparison of such forms with the corresponding future tense forms in Tamil reveals that the *k* in the Parji forms is related to the

strong verb formative *kk* in Tamil (the Parji forms given below are Ist sg. present forms:[12].

Parji		Tamil
kā-k-m-en		*kā-kk-um*
	(: *kāp-/kāt-* 'to wait')	
nil-k-m-en		*niṟ-k-um*
	(: *nilp-/nilt-* 'to stand')	
pū-k-m-en		*pū-kk-um*
	(: *pūp-/pūt-* 'to flower')	

While the Northern dialect retains the original *k* in the present tense of these verbs, the Southern dialect replaced it by the more common non-past stem with the *p* suffix. One of the non-past participial suffixes in Parji, i.e., *-ek* may also be connected wiih the PDr. **-kk-* suffix. The suffix *-ek-* appears in the imperative 1st sg. and 3rd person forms also. In Gadba (Ollari) the verbs with alternate stems in *p/t* have another stem ending in the *k* suffix in the present progressive tense.

Brahui shows a *k* suffix in the 3rd sg. of the present-future tense (both affirmative and negative), e. g., *bin-ik-Ø* 'he/she/it hears', *bim-p-a-kØ* 'he/she/it does/will not hear'. It is highly probable that the *k* in this is related to the strong verb formative *-kk-* of SDr. The Brahui form may be traced back to the original **kkum* from with the *k* analogically

12. See Subrahmanyam 1964 : 51-54. Note that the view of Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953 : 50) that this *k* in the Northern dialect of Parji is "due to dissimilation of original *p* before the *m* suffix" is unacceptable.

extended to all verbs in Brahui as in Old Kannaḍa. The presence of the *k* in the Brahui negative form may be analogical. Note that the Brahui form with *-ik-* like the form with **-kkum* from which it might have developed is restricted to 3rd person sg. (Due to loss of gender distinction the original hum. pl form functions in Brahui as the 3rd pl. form). It has already been observed that the non-past adjective suffix *-ok* in Brahui is a borrowing from Balochi and cannot be connected with the PDr. **kk* suffix.

3.25. **-tt-* (∞ **-t-*)

The reflexes of this suffix occur in the following languages: Old Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Gondi, Kui, Kuvi, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadba and Kuḍux.

In Old Tamil the suffix *-tt-* (∞ *-t-*) (with alveolar and retroflex variants after verbs ending in *n* and *ṇ/ḷ* respectively) occurs only before 1st pl., 2nd sg. and pl. personal suffixes. Kannaḍa has the suffix *-tu/-ttu* in the present participle and also in the modern form of the present tense.

In Old Telugu the habitual tense contains the suffix *-du-* (which has the free variant *-eda-*) before the personal suffixes of the 1st and the 2nd persons and the 3rd hum. pl. In colloquial Telugu the present participle contains the *-tū* suffix and the future tense the suffix *-tā-* (with a variant *-tun-* before the 3rd non-m. sg. suffix).

The present-future suffix *-ānt-* (variant *-nt-*) and the past habitual-cum-irrealis suffix *-nd-* of Goṇḍi are related to this proto-suffix. The future tense suffix *-it-* (variants *-t-*

and *-id-*) of Koya is also derived from this. The Kui-Kuvi subgroup shows the suffix *-d-* (variant *-id-* in a class of verbs) before the 2nd personal suffixes (sg. and pl.) in the future tense.

In Kolami the suffix *-da-* is found in the 1st person (sg. and pl.) of the present-future tense. Its future tense consists of the suffix *-d-* in all the persons, it is followed by another genetically related suffix *-at-* that occurs also in the present-future in the 1st and the 2nd persons (sg. and pl.). In Naiki (Ch.) the present-future tense suffix is *-t-* (it seems that it changes to *-l-* in the regular verbs); forms with another suffix *-ent-* are more common. The future tense also contains the two variants *-at-* and *-d-* which are derived from this proto-suffix.

In Parji the characteristic future stem formative is *-r-* in the North-Western dialect and *-iy-* in the Southern dialect. Verbs having alternate stems in *p/t* employ the *t-* stem in the future (actually the future suffix has to be analyzed as *-ta-*) and those ending in *n* take the suffix *-da-* (but *-ḍa-* after *un-* 'to drink'). The future stem is the basis for the habitual adjective also. Burrow and Bhattacharya (see § 3.17) have recorded *-d-* also as a free variant of the *-r-* future suffix in the case of some verbs. Further, they had information that the North-Eastern dialect of Parji abounds in forms containing *-d-* as the future suffix. All this seems to indicate that the *-r-* is a dialect variant of *-d-*, which seems to be the older. This *-d-* as well as the potential suffix *-ut-* of Parji are easily relatable to

PDr. *-*tt*- (∞ *-*t*-).[13] Morever, Parji shows the suffix -*t*- in the extended form of the present tense as well as in that of the preterite. This suffix in the former paradigm may also be connected to PDr. *-*tt*- (∞ *-*t*-) but since the vowel suffixes that follow it are completely identical with those occurring in the preterite paradigm, it will be more proper to suppose that the extended present paradigm is an analogical development on the model of the extended preterite paradigm.[14] Gadba (Ollari) closely resembles Parji in showing the suffix -*da*- in the present-future tense of numerous verbs. As in Parji, verbs having alternate stems in *p*/*t* in this language also use the *t*- stem for the present-future. The suffix -*y*- that occurs after five *n*- ending verbs in this language may be related to the -*iy*- suffix of the Southern dialect of Parji although the origin of this suffix is obscure at present.

In the North Dravidian group Kuṛux alone shows the reflex of this suffix. In this language the suffix -*d*- occurs as present tense marker before all personal suffixes other than 3rd hum. pl. and non-masc. in the male speech; in the female speech it is replaced by the glottal stop in the 1st sg. and exclusive pl.

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13. In Parji *r* further changes to *l* after *l*- ending verbs, compare the change of *t* to *l* in the regular verbs of Naiki(Ch.).

14. It must be noted in this connection that the present tense paradigm of the Northern Parji dialect shows the same vowel sufixes as the preterite paradigm. But this fact can hardly contradict the above supposition since the *o* vowel that occurs in the present tense of the Southern dialect must be more original and the *e*/*o* vowels in the present tense forms of the Northern dialect are simply "due to the imitation of the past tense".(see Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953.49.)

It is clear from the above discussion that the non-past suffix *-*tt*- (∞ *-*t*-) goes back to the Proto-Dravidian stage since its reflexes occur in all the three main subgroups. However, it is more prevalent in the Central Dravidian subgroup as a whole rather than in the South and the North Dravidian subgroups. Thus, while it is present in many languages of Central Dravidian (all excepting Koṇḍa and Pengo), it occurs in South Dravidian only in Old Tamil a and Kannaḍa and in North Dravidian only in Kuṛux. It may be concluded that Proto-Dravidian like Old Tamil, had the non-past suffixes *-*pp*- (∞ *-*v*-) and *-*tt*- (∞ *-*t*-) either as dialect variants or as variants with a slight difference in meaning, e.g., one for the present-future and the other for the habitual; while the labial suffix became more prevalent at the expense of the dental one in the South Dravidian group (including Tuḷu), the latter became more common at the expense of the labial suffix in the Central Dravidian group. It is significant that these suffixes are in complementation with the *-*um* suffix in Old Tamil and Old Telugu. In Old Tamil, however, the forms with the dental suffix do not occur in the 1st sg. and 3rd hum. pl. unlike Telugu. There does not seem to be any reason for this restriction in the structure of Old Tamil. Therefore we may suppose that even by the beginning of the literature the forms with the dental suffix started to become obsolete and that it was replaced by the labial or the velar suffixes (or a combination of these two) first in the 1st sg. and 3rd hum. pl. forms. The very close resemblance of the Goṇḍi past habitual tenses and of the Kolami present-future and future tenses to the Old Telugu future-habitual tense is noteworthy.

3.26. *-*um*

The reflexes of this suffix occur in the following languages: Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu, Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Telugu, Kolami and Parji.

A peculiarity of this suffix is that in all the languages in which it occurs (excepting Parji), it is not followed by the personal suffixes. In Old Tamil the forms with *-um* (preceded by *-kk-* after strong verbs) occurs with all 3rd person subjects excepting hum. pl. In later Tamil this suffix is restricted to 3rd neut. (both sg. and pl); in masc. sg. and fem. sg. the forms with *-um* are replaced by forms with the *-pp-* (∞ *-v-*) suffix followed by the respective personal suffixes. This change might have taken place in order to make distinction between the three gender categories in the future tense also as such a distinction is well-established in the past, present and also the negative tenses in the language. The *-um* forms in present-day Malayalam are used in all the three persons. This development is in consonance with the general loss of person and number distinction in this language. The literary evidence enables us to understand the gradual spread of the *-um* forms to all persons and numbers. Thus, in the earliest Malayalam texts they occur only with the 3rd person subjects. At that period these were extended only to the 3rd hum. pl at the expense of the forms with the *-pp-* (∞*-v-*) suffix. Only round about the 15th Century they were extended to the 1st and the 2nd persons also as evidenced by the literature of that period. The suffix *-m-* in the Old Tamil forms with *-mār*, which are used both as adverbial participles meaning "in order to" and also as 3rd

hum. pl. finite future tense forms must also be related to the *-um* suffix. In both Tamil and Malayalam the habitual adjective contains the suffix *-um*. It is uncertain whether the sequence *kō* in the 3rd person forms in Kota is related to Ta. Ma. *-kkum;* if it is related it must be assumed that the *k* has analogically spread to all verbs in Kota. Its occurrence in the past tense forms must also be analogical. In Koḍagu the permissive suffix *-u* (preceded by *k* or *g* in strong verbs and also in some weak verbs due to analogy) seems to be from original **um* with the loss of final *m*, which is common in this language. It has already been noted that the 3rd person non-past forms with *-kum*/*- gum* in Old Kannaḍa are related to the Tamil-Malayalam forms with *-kkum* in strong verbs; in the former the sequence *-kkum* that originally belonged to the strong verbs has been extended to the weak verbs also.

In Tuḷu the 3rd neut. sg. future tense forms consist of the base followed by *u*. A comparison of such forms with the corresponding forms in Tamil will show that the Tuḷu suffix *-u* in these is from original * *-um*.

Tu.	Ta.	
par-u-∅	*paruk-um*	'It will drink.'
bar-u-∅	*var-um*	'It will come.'
tin-u-∅	*tin̠n̠-um*	'It will eat.'

New forms with the labial suffix followed by the personal suffixes have been created in Tuḷu for neut. pl. also in addition to masc.sg. and fem.sg. for which the corresponding forms exist in Tamil itself.

In Old Telugu a situation identical with that of Old Tamil obtains. In the future-habitual tense of that language the suffix *-un(u)* occurs in the form that takes all 3rd person subjects excepting the hum.pl. like the Old Ta. *-um*. The final *u* in *-unu* is enunciative and is optional in Old Telugu. This suffix is phonetically equatable to Ta. Ma. *-um* since final * *m* often develops to *n* in Telugu.[15] Moreover, the habitual adjective with the Ø suffix in Old Telugu takes an additional *n* when a word beginning with a vowel follows it. It is more than probable that this *n* is the relic of original * *-um;* compare Te. *cēy-un* + *atāḍu* : Ta. *ceyy-um* + *avaṉ* 'he that does'.

The durative tense of Kolami also shows the suffix *-un* in the 3rd non-masc.sg. This and the suffix *-an-* in 3rd non-m.sg. future form of Naiki(Ch.) are from **-um*.

As is evident from the preceding discussion, Old Tamil of South Dravidian and Old Telugu of the Central Dravidian subgroup agree with each other in having the finite forms with the **-um* : (: Te.*-un(u)*) suffix in agreement with all 3rd person subjects excepting the hum. pl. Since these two languages belong to two different subgroups, the situation that

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15. The copula in these languages also shows the same correspondence: Ta- *um*: Te. *-un(u)*, e.g. Ta. *avar-um*: Te. *vār-un(u)* 'they (hum) too'. The final *m* in nouns, which in Proto-Dravidian itself is in variation with *n* often develops to *n* in Telugu:

Ta.	Te.	
maram/maraṉ	*moānu*	'tree' (3856)
kuḷam/kuḷaṉ	*kolanu*	'tank' (1518)

is common to both can be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. Therefore it is clear that even in Proto-Dravidian the finite forms with *-um* were in agreement with all 3rd person subjects excepting the hum.pl. However, for reasons of clarity later Tamil restricted them to neut.sg. and pl., Tuḷu and Kolami only to neut.sg. They were completely lost and replaced by forms with some other suffixes in the rest of the languages.[16]

Lastly we come to Parji which seems to have made use of the original form with **-um* in a characteristic way of its own. The present tense suffix in this language is *-m-*; further, it contains a non-past participle with the suffix *-em*. It is reasonable to connect this Parji suffix to the PDr. non-past suffix **-um* that is under discussion.[17] In Parji the *-m-* suffix is regularly followed by the personal suffixes unlike the original **-um* which is not followed by personal suffixes and which was there originally only in 3rd sg. and neut. pl. form. Morever, Parji has restricted the meaning of this suffix to the present whereas originally it indicated present, future and also habitual tenses. The extension of the form with *-um* to all persons in Parji may be compared with a similar extension in Malayalam (without any addition of the personal

16. Note that the future tense of Old Telugu is replaced in modern Telugu with the suffix *-tā-* (∞ *-tun-*). However, the Old Telugu tense survives at least in the Northern dialects of modern Telugu as irrealis with semantic change. On the other hand, some Telugu dialects spoken in Tamilnadu still preserve the Old Telugu future tense without any meaning change.

17. See Subrahmanyam 1964:51–54. Only recently it has come to my notice that Jules Bloch (1954:54) has already hinted at this connection.

suffix); Old Kannaḍa also has extended the forms with *-kum*/*-gum* to the human pl. The addition of the personal suffixes to the *m* in Parji is necessitated for the sake of showing agreement between the subject and the verb, which already exists in the other tenses. In Old Tamil also *-um* is followed by personal endings in finite verbs and participial nouns; e.g. *koyy-um-ōṉ* 'he who plucks', *tin-m-ār* 'those (hum.) who eat', *tūṅk-un-tu* 'it hangs', *icai-kk-um-an-a* 'they (neut.) sound' (see M. Israel (1964)). The process of creating distinct forms with personal suffixes in the place of a single earlier form with *-um* suffix has operated in languages like Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu and is not peculiar to Parji alone. The only difference between Parji and the former languages is that while in Parji the personal suffixes were added to the *-um* form itself, new forms with some other future suffix (occurring before other personal suffixes in the particular language) followed by personal endings were created the other languages. In the Northern dialect of Parji verbs having alternate stems in *p*/*t* substitute *k* in the place of *p*/*t* before the present tense *-m-*. As demonstrated above (see § 3.24), this *k* is related to the strong verb formative *-kk-* of Tamil (and its closely related languages). When the personal suffixes of these Parji forms are removed they very closely resemble the corresponding forms with *-kk-um* in Tamil. This proves beyond doubt that the Parji *-m-* suffix is from original **-um*.

3.27. **-n-*

The suffix is of a comparatively limited distribution. The following languges furnish evidence for the reconstruction of this suffix: Old Tamil, Tuḷu, Goṇḍi, Koṇḍa, Pengo, Kui, Kolami, Kuṛux and Malto.

In Old Tamil the non-past suffix *-n-* (dental, not alveolar) occurs in participial nouns The attempt by some to connect this to the non-past suffix **-um* is not convincing. It seems to be better to connect it with the suffix *-n-* that occurs in several other languages rather than with *-um*. It is still a moot point whether or not the dental and the alveolar nasals were separate phonemes in Proto-Dravidian. However, in Old Tamil, which alone makes a distinction between these two, the contrast between the two is well established, for example, in *vāṅk-iṉ-a* 'that taken, bought' and *ari-n-ar* 'those who reap' both occur in the environment—between *i* and *a*.[18] Since there is no reason to believe that the dental *n* in the Old Tamil suffix is a later development of original alveolar *ṉ*, we reconstruct this suffix with the dental *n* for Proto-Dravidian and assume that in all the other languages in which the suffix occurs it has merged with the alveolar *ṉ*.

Tuḷu shows the *-n-* suffix in the instantial participle.

In the Central and the Northern subgroups this suffix occurs in finite forms also and in this position it is in complimentation with some other suffix, most commonly *-d-*. In Gondi the *-n-* suffix (variant *-ān-*) occurs in the 3rd masc. sg., pl. and non-masc, pl. forms of the future tense and also in the non-past conditional. In Koya the suffix *-ān-* occurs in the non-past adjective.

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18. In Malayalam the contrast between the dental and the alveolar nasals is a later development and is due to the change of the original clusters *nt* and *ṉṟ* to *nn* (dental), cf. *eṉṉāl* 'by me', : *ennāl* (< **eṉṟāl*) 'but'.

In Koṇḍa and Pengo the *-n-* suffix occurs before all personal suffixes in the future tense (also in the present tense in Pengo). Moreover, the non-past stem with the *-n-* suffix in Koṇḍa occurs also in the non-past adjective, resultative, conditional and extentive constructions. In Pengo also the suffix occurs in the non-past adjective. In Kui and Kuvi it occurs (with a variant *-in-* in a class of verbs) in all 3rd persons forms; in 1st person exclusive and inclusive forms and also in the non-past adjective. In the finite forms of these languages, it is in complimentation with *-d-* which occurs before the 2nd sg. and pl. suffixes.

In the durative tense of Kolami the *-n-* suffix occurs before the 2nd sg., pl., 3rd masc. sg., pl. and non-masc. pl. suffixes (note that the *-un* in 3rd non-masc. sg. form is from **-um*). In the Adilabad dialect it occurs also before the 1st person inclusive pl. and the limitative suffixes.

Kuṛux and Malto contain the *-n-* suffix in the present finite forms and also in the present adverb. While only 3rd hum. pl. present form of Kuṛux contains this suffix, it occurs in Malto in the 2nd sg., pl. and 3rd hum. pl. present forms and also in the 2nd sg. and 3rd non-masc. sg forms of the future tense.

Although the suffix is found only in a comparatively small number of languages, it (i.e. dental *n*) must be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian since these languages represent all the three main subgroups. It is extensively used in those languages of the Central group in which it occurs and also in Kuḍux-Malto of North Dravidian both in the finite and the non-finite forms. Its presence in the habitual adjective of Koṇḍa,

Pengo, Kui and Kuvi is indicative of their close relationship and distinguishes them as a group from the other sister languages.

3.28. Present Adverb

Although Tamil, Malayalam and Tuḷu do not have a suffix for this category, many other languages possess a suffix for this. The suffix, however, cannot be uniformly reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian. Therefore it is probable that this category originated in Dravidian only in the later stages.

In Tamil and Malayalam the present adverbial sense is expressed by the construction: past adverb of a verb + the past adverb of the reflexive verb *koḷ-*, *koṇ-ṭu* (often followed by the emphatic *ē*). The Tuḷu present adverbial forms are also derived from a similar syntactic construction involving the reflexive verb, e.g. *kaltontu/kaltondu* 'learning' : Ta. Ma. *kaṟṟukkoṇṭu* (: *kal* 'to learn'). Kannaḍa also employs this construction along with the morphological construction with the suffix *-tu*, *-tā*.

The *-r-* suffix in the Kota present adverb seems to be from earlier **-kinṟ-* although the latter occurs in Tamil only in present finite forms and the present adjective; note that *kiṉṟ* > *r* in colloquial Tamil also.

Kannaḍa and spoken Telugu agree in having the present adverb with the dental suffix. Although this similarity between these two languages is due to areal influence, it is not quite certain which language influenced the other. Since it occurs in Kannaḍa from the very early stages and since literary Telugu does not have it (the suffix in it is *-cun*), it may be concluded that this suffix spread to Telugu from

Kannaḍa. It is ultimately related to the dental non-past suffix that belongs to Proto-Dravidian.

In Old Telugu the suffix is *-cun*. In Goṇḍi the principal allomorph of the suffix is *-sēr* (Adilabad) /*-sōṛē* (Betul) /*-sōr* (Koya; in Koya the *s* is dropped in most of the verbs). In Koṇḍa it is *-sin-* (∞ *zin*).[19] In Kui *-ji* occurs as the present adverbial suffix after *n-* ending verbs, e.g. *tin-ji* 'eating', *in-ji* 'saying'. In Kuvi *-si* with variants *-i, -hi, -ci, -ji* occurs in all verbs (note that after the verbs of the 1st conjugation, the *s* is dropped) and thus it is more common in this language than in Kui. The Adilabad dialect of Kolami has *-sān* with *s* as the present adverbial suffix; further *s* occurs also in the present-future of this dialect All these suffixes in these languages must obviously be related to each other and this evidence seems to lead to the reconstruction of **c* as a non-past suffix in the Central Dravidian subgroup. It occurs mainly in the Telugu-Kuvi subgroup of it, Kolami being the only language that contains this suffix outside this sub- subgroup. It is to be noted that in Telugu *-cun* is later replaced by *-tū* probably under the influence of the neighbouring language Kannaḍa in which the dental suffix occurs from very early stages. Probably this change started first in the Telugu dialects that are nearer to the Kannaḍa area and later spread to the whole language. It is also remarkable that until a few years ago *-cun* in the shape of *-cū* survived in the speech of the old people of the Brahmin

19. As the comparative study would show, this Koṇḍa suffix originally belongs to the present adverb. Koṇḍa innovated by creating the present finite forms by adding personal suffixes to this suffix.

caste : *tin-cū*, *un-cū*, etc. for more common *tiṇ-ṭū* 'eating', *uṇ-ṭū* 'being' etc. Perhaps the two forms might have been dialectal variants from the beginning, only *-cun* having been admitted into the literary dialect.

Kuṛux and Malto agree with each other in having the present adverb with the closely similar suffixes, Kur. *-nū*, Malto *-ne* which are the reflexes of the PDr. **-n-* suffix. This indicates their close relationship.

3.29. **Habitual Adjective**

In Tamil and Malayalam the habitual adjective is formed by adding to the base the non-past suffix *-um*. It has already been observed that the Telugu habitual adjective with the zero suffix takes an additional *n* when followed by a word that begins with a vowel. Since this *n* is relatable to **-um*, it may be assumed that the Telugu construction is identical with that of Tamil-Malayalam with the *-um* suffix. The *-u* suffix in the non-past adjectives of Kuṛux and Malto may be the reflex of original **-um*. However, the evidence from Tamil-Malayalam and Telugu is sufficient to assume that the habitual adjective with the **-um* suffix goes back to the Proto-Dravidian period; the Kuṛux-Malto evidence, though the connection is a bit uncertain, gives further support for this assumption.

The comparative study will show that the form with **-um* alone has a claim for being considered as belonging to the Proto-Dravidian stage. The forms with other suffixes, though going back to intermediary proto-stages, do not seem to belong to the Proto-Dravidian stage.

Tamil and Malayalam share the innovation of creating a present adjective as distinct from the future-habitual adjective with the present tense suffix *-*kiṉṟ*- followed by the adjective marker *-a*. In spoken Tamil this form with the change of *-kiṉṟ-* to *-ṟ-* is commonly used as the habitual adjective also; the form with *-um* occurs only rarely as before the word *pōtu* 'time' (only dialectally). Kota employs the neuter participial noun itself as the non-past adjective.

Koḍagu, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu have the habitual adjective with the structure: Base + *p*/*v* (non-past) + adjective marker (Koḍ -*ë*, Ka. -*a*, Tu. -*i*). Although this type does not occur in Tamil, it seems to underlie the participial nouns like *cey-p-(a)+avaṉ* 'the man that does' *varu-p-(a)avaṉ* 'the man that comes', etc., it is possible to assume that this type was having a wider use in pre-Tamil as an adjective and that in Tamil it has been restricted only to the participial nouns (see T. P. Meenakshisundaran 1965:89). Meenakshisundaran thinks that the adverbial participle with the suffix *-pu* along with the finite forms with *-pp-* (∞ *-v-*) also justify the assumption that the adjective of the type *cey-p-a* was existing in pre-Tamil. The evidence from Koḍagu, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu along with the indirect evidence from Tamil will then lead to the reconstruction of the adjective with the *pp* (∞ *v*) suffix followed by the adjective marker *-a*/*-i* to the Proto-South Dravidian stage. Since it is a shared retention in Kannaḍa, Koḍagu and Tuḷu, it does not indicate any special relationship among these languages; areal influence seems to be responsible for the coincidence.

The non-past adjective in Konḍa, Pengo, Kui and Kuvi (? also Manḍa) has the structure: Base + *n*(non-past) + *i* (adjective). These languages agree with one another not only in having *n* as the non-past marker in this construction but also in having *-i* as the adjective marker. Therefore this construction goes back to the proto-stage of these languages. Although the non-past *-n-* occurs in other languages and the adjective marker *-i* appears in Tuḷu, the construction as a whole is an innovation in these languages and therefore speaks for their close connection. Although Gonḍi is intimately connected with these languages it does not have this construction (except in the Koya dialect) and employs the verbal noun with the suffix *-vāl* in its place. This seems to be a new development in Gonḍi since the suffix *-vāl* in it is a loan from Indo-Aryan. Therefore we can assume that the construction goes back to the Proto-Gonḍi-Kui period and that it is lost in all the dialects of Gonḍi except koya. As regards the adjective marker, it has already been stated (see § 2.31) that in Proto-Dravidian both *a* and *i* were there probably as dialectal variants and that while *i* remains in Tuḷu, Konḍa, Pengo, Kui and Kuvi, *a* remains in the other languages.

Kolami and Naiki agree with each other in having *-eka* as the suffix in the non-past adjective. It is not certain whether historically it is a sequence of two suffixes, *-ek-* non-past and *-a* the adjective marker as in other languages.

Parji and Gadba agree with each other in forming the habitual adjective from the non-past stem that occurs also in

the future tense forms and accordingly they show in this form the dental non-past suffix which does not occur in any other language in this form. The adjective marker in these languages is *-an*. No explanation is at hand at present for the additional *n* in this.

It has already been noted that the suffix *-ok* in the Brahui present adjective is a loan from the Balochi language.

3.30. Conclusion

1. In Dravidian the tense distinction was originally between past and non-past. The non-past suffixes in the individual languages were later specialized for present and future meanings. In some languages the same original suffix functions for both the present and the future but the distinction is indicated by the difference in the distribution of the allomorphs, in the vowels that precede or follow the suffix, etc.

2. The present tense is or was originally a periphrastic construction in a good number of languages.

3. Although both the dental and the labial non-past suffixes were there in Proto-Dravidian, the labial suffix became more common in South Dravidian and probably also in North Dravidian while the dental became more common in Central Dravidian.

4. The future finite form with **-um* (without any following personal suffix) was originally taking all 3rd person subjects other than the human pl as evidenced by Old Tamil and Old Telugu.

5. Although the present adverb and the non-past adjective are present in most of the languages they cannot be uniformly reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. Each individual subgroup seems to have adopted its own method in constructing these forms. However, the non-past adjective with the suffix *-*um* has some claim to belong to the Proto-Dravidian stage.

4.

NEGATIVE SUFFIXES

4.0. Introduction

The languages of the Dravidian family have the capability of expressing negation in the morphological structure of the verb. Thus, most of the Dravidian languages have a fully conjugated negative tense (usually indicating negation in the non-past or habitual) a negative adverb, a negative adjective and the prohibitive mood. The negative marker occurs in all these constructions in the position of the tense marker, i.e. after the stem (with or without the transitive and/or causative marker) and in this way behaves like a tense marker. In many of the Central Dravidian languages negation in the past is expressed by a separate morphological construction; in this the negative marker is followed by the past tense marker.

DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

4.1. Tamil

(i) FINITE FORMS: The negative suffix is *-ā-*; it has a zero variant before all personal suffixes other than 3rd neut. sg. and pl. After the negative suffix the allomorph of the 3rd neut pl. is zero.

kāṇ- 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*kāṇ-Ø-ēn̲*	*kāṇØ-ēm/ōm*
2.	*kāṇØ-āy*	*kāṇ-Ø-īr(kaḷ)*
3m.	*kāṇ-Ø-ān̲*	*kāṇ-Ø-ār(kaḷ)*
f.	*kāṇ-Ø-āḷ*	
n.	*kāṇ-ā-tu*	*kāṇ-ā-Ø*

In modern Tamil this construction is preserved only in the (negative) auxiliary verb *māṭṭu* which always occurs after the infinitive of a verb, the whole construction indicating negation in the future, e.g.

nān̲ var-a māṭṭ-Ø-ēn̲	'I will not come.'
nāṅkaḷ var-a māṭṭ-Ø-ōm	'We (excl.) will not come.'
nī var-a māṭṭ-Ø-āy	'You (sg.) will not come.'
nīṅkaḷ var-a māṭṭ-Ø-īr(kaḷ)	'You (pl.)will not come.'
avan̲ var-a māṭṭ-Ø-ān̲	'He will not come.'
avaḷ var-a māṭṭ-Ø-āḷ	'She will not come.'
avarkaḷ var-a māṭṭ-Ø-ār(kaḷ)	'They (hum.) will not come.'
atu var-ā-tu	'It will not come.'
avai var-ā-Ø/var-a māṭṭ-ā-Ø	'They (neut) will not come.'

In verbs other than *māṭṭu* the 3rd neut. sg. form of this construction alone is preserved at present: *ceyy-ā-tu* 'it will not do' *teriy-ā-tu* 'it is not known' *kāṇ-ā-tu* 'it is not sufficient, *kūṭ-ā-tu* 'it is not proper' etc. However, the 1st person pl. form *kāṇ-Ø-ōm* 'we do not see' from *kāṇ-* 'to see'

(preceded by the object in the accusative case) also survives in the present-day Tamil e.g.

avaṉaik kāṇōm 'He is not to be seen, lit., we do not see him'.

The *-ā-* suffix occurs also in (Old) *vēṇṭ-ā*/(Mod.) *vēṇṭ-ām* 'it is not necessary'.

(ii) In *Caṅkam* Tamil the negative bases *al-* 'to be not so and so' and *il-* 'to be not' are also fully inflected in the negative tense. The inflected forms of *al-* are often annexed to other verb bases to express negation in the non-past. The inflected forms of *il-* are usually annexed to past adverbs of other verbs and this construction expresses negation in the past. The latter construction according to Ramaswami Aiyar (1938 : 778) is very rare in the earlier *Caṅkam* texts but occurs commonly in post-*Caṅkam* texts. He also quotes one example from *Kalittokai* (62), viz, *arik + il-∅-ēṉ* 'I do not know' where the inflected form of *il-* is added directly to the verb base to denote negation in the non-past and observes that this type is rare in the earlier texts.

al-:

piri(y) + al-∅-eṉ 'I do not separate.'

tēṟ + al-∅-ai(yē) 'You (sg.) will not console.'

cell + al-∅-am 'We will not go.'

koḷḷ + al-∅-ir 'You (pl.) will not receive.'

nill + al-∅-aṉ 'He will not stand.'

pēṇ + al-∅-ar 'They (hum.) will not protect.'

aṭaṅk + al-∅-a 'They (neut.) will not subdue.'

il-:

pōr-pi-tt-(u) + il-∅-atu 'It did not cause to wear.'
va-nt(u) + il-∅-ār 'They (hum.) did not come.'
ka-ṇṭ(u) + il-∅-ar 'They (hum.) did not see.'
iḻa-nt(u) + il-∅-ēṉ 'I did not lose.'
aṟi-nt(u) + il-∅-ir 'You (pl.) did not know.'

(iii) In *Caṅkam* texts negation is expressed also by the addition of the inflected forms of *al-* to the affirmative finite forms (both past and non-past) of verbs. In this construction the negative form is in agreement with the preceding affirmative form as to person and number (also gender in the 3rd person)[1]

kalaṅk-iṉ-ēṉ all-∅-ēṉ 'I was not disturbed.'
tuṟa-kkuv-aṉ all-∅-aṉ 'He will not renounce.'
cel-v-ēm all-∅-ēm 'We will not go.'

The inflected forms of *al-* are also added to nouns and participial nouns.

peṇṭ-ir-ēm all-∅-ēm 'We are not women.'
malai-nt-ōṉ all-∅-aṉ
'He is not a man that wears a garland.'

Similarly the inflected forms of *il-* are added to participial nouns, verbal nouns and also to ordinary nouns.

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1. Since this type is rare in post-*Caṅkam* texts, it is one of the characteristics of *Caṅkam* Tamil. Ramaswami Aiyar (1937 : 252) observes : (i) The colloquial portions of inscription (all of which are Middle Tamil) lack these types altogether; and (ii) even in the literary texts (of the Middle Tamil stage) later types and forms often replace the Old Tamil types referred to here. There is warrant to think therefore that such types may have fallen into desuetude altogether or have been on the high road to ruin.

peyar-talō il-Ø-ar(ē) 'They (hum.) do not migrate.'
uṇ-ṭal-um il-Ø-ar(ē) 'They (hum.) do not eat.'
ar̲i-nt-at(u) il-Ø-ēn̲ 'I did not know.'
celvam-um il-Ø-an̲ 'He has no money also.'

In *Tir̲ukkur̲aḷ il* or *illai* (without personal suffixes) are added to participal nouns and this construction has *yām* 'we (excl.)' as the subject:

yām ka-ṇṭ-at(u) il (1071) 'We did not see.'
yām ar̲i-v-at (u) illai (61) 'We did not know.'

(iv) In modern Tamil negation is usually expressed by means of syntactic constructions with the infinitive or participial nouns followed by the negative word *illai* 'it is not (there)'. Thus, negation in the past is expressed by the following two types of constructions: (In the following examples the first is the written form and the second is the spoken form.)

(i) Infinitive of a verb + *illai*

ceyy-a(v) + illai
cey-le } '(Subject) did not do.'

var-a(v) + illai
var-le } '(Subject) did not come.'

(ii) Past participial noun of a verb + *illai*

pār-tt-atu illai
pā-tt-at ille } '(Subject) did not see.'

Negation in the present or habitual is expressed by adding *illai* to the present participial noun.

varu-kir̲-atu illai
var-r-at ille } '(Subject) does not come.'

Negation in the future is expressed by the construction: Infinitive of a verb + negative forms of the auxiliary *māṭṭu* except in 3rd neut sg. (see above). In the 3rd neut sg. the morphological construction: Base *-ā* (neg.) *-tu* (personal) is employed. This form is used also for neut pl. in the colloquial speech. In the written language negation in the future is sometimes expressed also by adding *illai* to the future participial noun.

cey-v-atu illai '(Subject) will not do.'

The constructions with *illai* are common to all persons, numbers and genders.

(v) NEGATIVE ADVERB: In Old Tamil it is made by adding to the base the negative marker *-ā;* it also has *-ātu* and *-āmal* as free variants.

añc-ā *añc-ātu* *añc-āmal*	'without fearing'
karav-ā[2] *karav-ātu* *karav-āmal*	'without hiding'
tīr-ā *tīr-ātu* *tīr-āmal*	'without ending'

In modern Tamil the suffix *-āmal* (colloquially *-āme*) is more commonly used. However, *-ā* still survives in the negative conditional construction with *viṭ-ṭāl* 'if (one) leaves' e.g. *coll-ā viṭ-ṭ-āl* 'if (one) does not tell'.

2. Cf. *kākkai karavā karaintuṇṇum, ākkamum aṉṉa nīrārkkē uḷa.* (*Tirukkuṟaḷ*, 527)
"Having called (its kind) the crow eats its food *without hiding*; fortune abides only with men of similar nature."

(vi) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE: In Old Tamil it is often made by adding to the base the negative marker *-ā* itself (the adjective marker has a zero variant here). It is also made by adding to the base *-āt-a* (*-āt-* is the negative marker and *-a* adjective marker). Only the latter form is used in modern Tamil.

muṟai ceyy-ā maṉṉavaṉ (Kuṟaḷ, 548)
'the king *who does not do* justice'
taḷḷ-ā viḷaiyuḷ (Kuṟaḷ, 731)
'yield *that will not decrease*'
mayir nīppiṉ vāḻ-āk kavarimā (Kuṟaḷ, 969)
'the yak *that will not live* if its hair falls'
ōv-āp piṇi (Kuṟaḷ, 734)
'the disease *that will not be cured*'

Also *ceyy-āt-a, vāḻ-āt-a*, etc.

(vii) NEGATIVE VERBAL NOUN: It is made by adding to the base the negative marker *-ā-* followed by the nominalizer *-mai*.

aṟiy-ā-mai 'not knowing'
kaḷḷ-ā-mai 'not stealing'
kall-ā-mai 'not learning'
viḻaiy-ā-mai 'not desiring'

The negative noun is often used in Old Tamil with the adverbial force instead of the negative adverb.

4.2. Malayalam

(i) FINITE FORMS: No Negative conjugational forms are found in the Malayalam inscriptions studied by A. C. Sekhar (1953 : 117, 134; the inscriptions studied in this work

belong to the period roughly between the last quarter of the 9th century and the first quarter of the 13th century). Negation is expressed in those inscriptions by affixing the conjugational forms of *alla* or *illa* both meaning 'not to be' to the affirmative forms.

> *kūṭakkaṭavar all-ar*
> 'They are not bound to (i.e. they cannot) join.' (10th century)
>
> *koṭukka kaṭamai illai.*
> 'They need not give.' (11th century)

Old Malayalam texts, however, have negative finite verbs like the following with the structure: Base-Negative (Ø) - Personal suffix, as in Old Tamil:

> *oḻiy-Ø-ēṉ* 'I will not exclude myself.'
> *oḻiy-Ø-āy* 'You (sg.) will not exclude yourself.'
> *aṟiy-Ø-ōm* 'We do not know.'

That the occurrence of the negative conjugational forms with personal endings in Old Malayalam texts is purely literary is established by the following three factors. (i) Firstly, pure Malayalam does not contain finite verbs having personal suffixes. Since these forms have personal suffixes, they may be considered as obsolete forms representing the stage at which Tamil and Malayalam were not separated. (ii) Secondly, inscriptions which often represent the colloquial language do not have such negative formations, even in earlier times. (iii) Thirdly, even the earliest texts which have the above formations possess another type of negative forms with the suffix *-ā* (see below).

(ii) Another type of expressing negation in finite verbs of Old Malayalam is to add the negative suffix *-ā* to the verb bases. Such forms are used for all persons, numbers and genders.

nī muṭiy-ā 'You (sg.) will not perish.'
ñān ceyy-ā 'I will not do.'
nī aṟiy-ā 'You (sg.) will not know.'

Lack of personal endings in these forms suggests that this type is characteristically Malayalam. But for a few forms like *kūṭ-ā* 'it is not proper', *vēṇṭ-ā* 'it is not necessary', this type does not exist in present-day Malayalam.

(iii) Even the earliest texts of Malayalam show another peculiar negative construction with the structure: Base-Negative (*ā*)-Tense suffix. Instances for the present and the past tenses of this type are numerous while those for the future are scanty. This type may be considered as one that had developed from the type described in the above paragraph out of a need to express time also in the negative.

Present Negative Tense :

aṟiy-ā-y-iṉṟ-itu '(Subject) does not know.'
kāṇ-āy-innu '(Subject) is not seeing.'
kaḷay-āy-innu '(Subject) is not losing.'

Past Negative Tense:

var-ā-ññ-u[3] '(Subject) did not come.'
koṭ-ā-ññ-ān 'He did not give.'

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3. Ramaswami Aiyar (1936:95,98) explains the past tense suffix *-ññ-* found in these forms as derived from an original **ynt*. According to him, *-nt-* in this is the past suffix and *y* is a glide in origin as found in the present negative forms which was later analogically introduced into the past negative forms.

Future Negative Tense:

var-āy-um '(Subject) will not come'

pār-āy-var 'They will not see'

As will be seen below, the stem with the *-ā-* negative suffix was used in Old Malayalam as the basis not only for the finite verb forms as the above, but also for a number of non-finite forms too. But for the past finite (regionally), the past participle and the verbal noun, this type also does not exist in colloquial Malayalam.

(iv) In present-day Malayalam negation is expressed by adding the word *illa* 'it is not' to the infinitive, past tense or the present tense form of a verb. The construction containing the infinitive of a verb followed by *illa* denotes negation in the future or the habitual.

Past Negative:

cey-tu illa '(Subject) did not go.'

kēṭ-ṭu illa '(Subject) did not hear/ask.'

Present Negative:

ceyy-unnu illa '(Subject) is not doing.'

kēḷk-unnu illa '(Subject) is not hearing/asking.'

Future Negative:

(The infinitive suffix is *-uka* in the written dialect and *-a* in the spoken dialect.)

ceyy-uka/ceyy-(a) illa. '(Subject) will not do.'

kēḷk-uka/kēḷk(a) illa '(Subject) will not hear/ask.'

(v) Negative Adverb: The suffix is *-ātu* in Old Malayalam and *-āte* in present-day Malayalam.

uṇṇ-āte 'without eating'

kāṇ-āte 'without seeing'

kēḷkk-āte 'without hearing'

(vi) Negative Adjective: There are two forms, one for the past and another for the non-past. The past negative adjective has the structure: Base *-ā* (negative) *-ññ* (past) *-a* (adjective).

kāṇ-ā-ññ-a 'that did not see'
var-ā-ññ-a 'that did not come'
kēḷk-a-ññ-a 'that did not hear/ask'

The non-past negative adjective has the structure:

Base *-ātt* (negative) *-a* (adjective)

kāṇ-ātt-a 'that do(es)/will not see'
var-ātt-a 'that do(es)/will not come'
kēḷk-att-a 'that do(es)/will not hear/ask'

In Old Malayalam negative adjectives with the *-ā-* negative suffix alone chiefly occur in compounds.

ākulam il-ā nṛpati 'the king that has no danger'
nant-ā viḷakku 'the lamp that does not go out'

(vii) Negative Verbal Noun: It has the structure:

Base *-āy* (negative) *-ka* (verbal noun).

ceyy-āy-ka 'not doing'
kāṇ-āy-ka 'not seeing'
tinn-āy-ka 'not eating'

4.3. Kota

(i) Finite Forms : The negative suffix in the simplex negative is -Ø-. It expresses negation in all tenses.

tin– 'to eat'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*tin-Ø-ē(n)*	(incl.)	*tin-Ø-ēm*
		(excl.)	*tin-Ø-ōm*
2.	*tin-Ø-ī*		*tin-Ø-īm*
3 (sg.pl.).	*tin-Ø-kō*		

The construction in which the simplex negative forms of the verb *ār–* 'to be able' are added to the infinitive of a verb with the suffix *-l* means '(subject) cannot do so-and-so' (note that for this verb 3rd sg. is *ār-Ø-ā* and pl. *ār-Ø-ām.*).

ān kōnāṭk ōg–l ār–Ø-ē(n), 'I cannot go to the plains.'

(ii) There is another construction with the structure : Base *-āy* (negative)*-p*(past)/*kv*(non-past)-Personal suffix.[4] This construction expresses negation in the past or non-past according to the tense marker it contains.

Past :

vār-āy-p-ē(n) 'I was not coming.'
vār-āy-p-ēm 'We (excl) were not coming.'

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4. M. B. Emeneau (1944 : 28) seems to consider this as a syntactic construction containing the verb base plus the past or non-past forms of the verb *āg– (ā-y-)* 'to become'. "Corresponding to the potential, the irrealis, the future, and the voluntative, negatives are made by adding to S^1 the appropriate forms of the verb *āg–*, *āy–* 'become'; there is also a past made on this pattern, S^1 and the past of the same verb." Note that there is no marker for the negative in this analysis.

vār–āy-p-ōm	'We (incl.) were not coming.'
vār–āy–p–ī	'You (sg.) were not coming.'
vār-āy-p–īm	'You (pl.) were not coming.'
vār–āy-k-ō	'3rd sg/pl. was/were not coming.'

Non–past :

vār-āy-kv-ē(n)	'I do/will not come.'
vār–āy–kv–ēm	'We (excl.) will not come.'
vār–āy-kv–ōm	'We (incl.) do/will not come.'
vār–āy–kv–ī	'You (sg.) do/will not come.'
vār–āy-kv–īm	'You (pl,) do/will not come.'
vār–āy-kōk-ō	'3rd sg./pl. do/will not come.'

The past negative forms of *payl-* 'to be able' which occur only in this construction, are added to the infinitive of a verb with the suffix *-lk*; the construction means '(subject) was not able to do so–and–so'.

ān kek keylk payl-āy-p-ē(n). 'I was not able to do that work.'

karāḷ piṭ tinlk payl-āy-k-ō. 'Younger brother was not able to eat the food.'

Negation in the past is expressed also by adding *ilā* 'it is not' to the past stem of a verb.

avn kekn keč–ilā. 'He did not do the work.'

ām pajn tavīr-č–ilā. 'We did not kill the pig.'

(iii) Negative Adverb : The suffix is *-ād.*

gey–ād 'without doing'
ōg-ād 'without going'
kāṇ–ād 'without seeing'

(iv) Negative Adjective: The suffix is *-ā* with a free variant *-ād*.

koṛ-ā(d) 'that do(es) not give'
mayṇ-ā(d) 'that do(es) not tell'

(v) Negative Verbal Noun: This has the structure: Base *-āy* (negative) *-vd/bd* (nominalizer). This is used adjectivally also.

tin-āy-vd
tin-āy-bd } 'not eating'

vēṛ-āy-vd
vēṛ-āy-bd } 'not buying'

4.4. Toda

(i) Finite Forms: The negative suffix is *-Ø-* before all personal endings except that of the 3rd person; before the 3rd person *-i* it has the variant *-oṭ-*. These forms express negation in both past and non-past.

kīy- 'to do'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*kīy-Ø-ini*	(excl.)	*kīy-Ø-imi*
		(incl.)	*kīy-Ø-umi*
2.	*kīy-Ø-fi*		*kīy-Ø-ṟi*
3 (sg pl.).	*kīy-oṭ-i*		

(ii) Negative Adverb: The suffix is *-ōθ*.

tin-ōθ 'without eating'
nwīṭ-ōθ 'without seeing'
kīy-ōθ 'without doing'

(iii) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE: The suffix is *-ōfoy* (*foy* occurs also in the past adjective and therefore it must probably be taken as the adjective marker).

mōṟ-ōfoy 'that did/does not sell'
nwīṭ-ōfoy 'that did/does not see'
nīṭ-ōfoy 'that did/does not stretch'

4.5. Kodagu

(i) FINITE FORMS: There is only one form common to all persons and numbers; it is made by adding to the base (with the formative *k* in the case of strong verbs) the negative marker *-a*.

ba-kk-a '(Subject) will not come.'
keyy-a '(Subject) will not work.'
tiṅ-g-a '(Subject) will not eat.'

Three syntactic constructions to express time along with negation are also in use. These contain the word *il(l)e* preceded by any one of the following: past adverb, perfect adverb, and the future adverb (the first and the last forms occur only in this construction).

Past Negative:

ba-nd+īle '(Subject) did not come.'
kej-j+īle '(Subject) did not work.'
cuṭ-ṭ+īle '(Subject) did not burn.'

Perfect Negative:

ba-nd-it+ille '(Subject) has not come.'
kej-j-it+ille '(Subject) has not worked.'
cuṭ-ṭ-it+ille '(Subject) has not burnt.'

Non-Past Negative :

ba-pp+īle '(Subject) does/will not come.'
tim-b+īle '(Subject) does/will not eat.'
cuḍu-v+le '(Subject) does/will not burn.'

(ii) NEGATIVE ADVERB : The suffix is *-ate*.

bakk-ate 'without coming'
keyy-ate 'without working'
aḍik-ate 'without beating'

(iii) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE : This is made by adding to the base the negative marker *-at-* followed the adjective marker *-ë*.

bakk-at-ë 'that did/do(es) will not come'
takk-at-ë 'that did/do(es) will not give'
cuḍ-at-ë 'that did/do(es) will not burn'

4.6. Kannada

(i) FINITE FORMS : The negative suffix is *-a-* before the 3rd neut. sg. and pl. suffixes and *-Ø-* before the other personal suffixes.

nōḍu 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*nōḍ-Ø-eṃ* *nōḍ-Ø-e(nu)*	*nōḍ-Ø-eṃ* *nōḍ-Ø-evu*
2.	*nōḍ-Ø-āy* *nōḍ-Ø-e*	*nōḍ-Ø-ir* *nōḍ-Ø-iri* *nōḍ-Ø-ari*
3 m.	*nōḍ-Ø-aṃ* *nōḍ-Ø-a(nu)*	*nōḍ-Ø-ar* *nōḍ-Ø-aru*

f. *nōḍ-Ø-aḷ*
nōḍ-Ø-aḷu }

n. *nōḍ-a-du* *nōḍ-a-vu*

Like modern Tamil, modern Kannada also does not make use of this negative conjugation except in some proverbs. However, the 3rd person neut. sg. forms of the following verbs are in general use: *ol* 'to be pleased' (*oll-a-du* 'it will not'), *kūḍu* 'to be proper' (*kūḍ-a-du* it is not proper), *sālu* 'to be sufficient' (*sāl-a-du* 'it is not sufficient'), *āgu* 'to become' (*āg-a-du* 'it will not become') and *tiḷi* 'to be known' (*tiḷiy-a-du* 'it is not known'). The following two periphrastic constructions are used in colloquial Kannaḍa.

Non-past Negative:

Non-past Participial Noun of a verb + *illa* 'it is not.'

māḍu-v-adu + *illa* '(Subject) do(es)/will not do.'
baru-v-adu + *illa* '(Subject) do(es)/will not come.'

Past Negative:

Infinitive (with the suffix *-al*) of a verb + *illa*.

nōḍ-al illa '(Subject) did not see'
bar-al illa '(Subject) did not come'

(ii) Negative Adverb: The suffix is *-ade*.

ir-ade 'without being'
enn-ade 'without saying'
īy-ade 'without giving'

The inscriptions have *-āde* side by side with *-ade* upto the 8th century (A.N. Narasimhaiya 1941:207; G.S. Gai 1946:85).

This suggests that the long vowel which is the original had been gradually replaced by the short vowel; the shortening is due to the syllabic pattern of the Kannaḍa language. According to F. Kittel (1903:107) the final *e* in this is the particle of emphasis.

(iii) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE: This consists of the base followed by the negative marker *-ad-* which in turn is followed by the adjective marker *-a*.

māḍ-ad-a 'that did/does/will not make'
karey-ad-a 'that did/do(es) will not call'
kēḷ-ad-a 'that did/do(es) will not hear/ask'

4.7. Tulu

(i) FINITE FORMS: The negative suffix is *-a-* before 3rd neut. sg. suffix (C) *-ndɨ* / (B) *-nɨ* and *-ay-* before the other personal suffixes (all of which begin with a vowel).[5]

kēṇɨ 'to hear'

1.	*kēṇ-ay-ɛ*	*kēṇ-ay-a*
2.	*kēṇ-ay-a*	*kēṇ-ay-arɨ*
3m.	*kēṇ-ay-e*	*kēṇ-ay-erɨ*
f.	*kēṇ-ay-aḷɨ*	
n.	*kēṇ-a-ndɨ* / *kēṇ-a-nɨ*	*kēṇ-ay-a*

(ii) Negation along with tense signification is expressed by constructions with might have been syntactic in origin.

5. The *y* in *-ay-* may be a glide in origin since it occurs only before suffixes beginning with a vowel.

The negative suffix (C) *-ji* /(B) *-ri* is added to the immediate past, distant past and the present-future stems to express negation. After this negative suffix regular personal suffixes are added except in 1st sg. and 3rd neut. sg. in which no personal suffix is added. In the common dialect the *i* of *ji* is dropped before a vowel while in the Brahmin dialect *-ri* takes the glide *y* before a vowel; in some idiolects the *y* is substituted for the *i*. In the Brahmin dialect *-ri* is not added to immediate past stems.

kalpu 'to learn'

	Imm. Past	Dist. Past.	Pres. Fut.
1 sg.	*kal-tī-ji*	*kal-tīdī-ji*	*kal-pu-ji*
	'I did not study.'	'I did not study.'	I am not studying.'
pl.	*kal-tī-j a*	*kal-tīdī-j-a*	*kal-pu-j-a*
2 sg.	*kal-tī-j-a*	*kal-tīdī-j-a*	*kal-pu-j-a*
pl.	*kal-tī-j-arī*	*kal-tīdī-j-arī*	*kal-pu-j-arī*
3m sg.	*kal-tī-j-e*	*kal-tīdī-j-e*	*kal-pu-j-e*
f. sg.	*kal-tī-j-alī*	*kal-tīdī-j-alī*	*kal-pu-j-alī*
hum. pl.	*kal-tī-j-erī*	*kal-tīdī-j-erī*	*kal-pu-j-erī*
n. sg.	*kal-tī-ji*	*kal-tīdī-ji*	*kal-pu-ji*
n. pl.	*kal-tī-i-a*	*kal-tīdī-j-a*	*kal-pu-j-a*

Eg. for the forms in the Brahmin dialect :

tin-pu-ri	'(Subject) do(es) not eat.'
tin-ti-ri	'(Subject) did not eat.'
būḷu-Ø-ri	'(Subject) do(es) not fall.'
būḷu-du-ri	'(Subject) did not fall.')

(After bases of sets 2 and 3, the present-future suffix has a zero allomorph before *-ji*/*-ri*.)

(iii) POTENTIAL NEGATIVE VERBS: The structure of these forms is: Base-Distant Past-Future (*v*)-Neg.(*-ay*)-P. S.

Eg. *kal-tīdī-v-ay-e* 'He would not have learnt.'
tin-t-v-ay-e 'He would not have eaten.'
ba-ttīdī-v-ay-e 'He would not have come.'

(iii) NEGATIVE ADVERB: The suffix is *-antɛ* in the Brahmin dialect and *-ande* in the common dialect.

paṇ-antɛ/paṇ-ande 'without saying'
bar-antɛ/bar-ande 'without coming'
tūv-antɛ/tūv-ande 'without seeing'

(iv) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE: The structure is: Base-(B) *ant*-(C)-*and* (Neg) *-i* (Adj.)

paṇ-ant-i/paṇ-and-i 'that did/do(es)/will not say'
pōv-ant-i/pōv-and-i 'that did/do(es)/will not go'
kor-ant-i/kor-and-i 'that did/do(es)/will not give'

4.8. Telugu

(i) FINITE FORMS: The negative suffix is *-a-*. It is replaced by zero after stem-alternants of the type (C)$\bar{V}$ according to the general morphophonemic rule: $a \rightarrow \emptyset / (C)\bar{V}-$. The verbs that have such stem alternants are as follows: *agu/avu* (*kā-* optionally) 'to become', *vaccu* (*rā-*) 'to come', *iccu* (*ī-*/(colloq. *ivv -/ivv-*) 'to give', *teccu* (*tē-*) 'to bring', *pōvu* (*pō-* optionally) 'to go', and negative defective verb *lē-* 'to be not'.

ceppu 'to tell'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cepp-a-nu*	*cepp-a-mu*
2.	*cepp-a-vu*	*cepp-a-ru*
3m.	*cepp-a-(ṇ)ḍu*	*cepp-a-ru*
non-m.	*cepp-a-du*	n. *cepp-a-vu*

This tense is used both in the Old and the modern dialects and signifies negation in the future or habitual (also in the past in Old Telugu).

(ii) In modern Telugu negation in the past and the present is expressed syntactically.

Past Negative :[6]

Infinitive of a verb + *lēdu* 'it is not' (3rd non-m. sg. neg. of *lē-*)

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6. The past negative in modern Telugu is occasionally expressed also by adding to the affirmative past finite forms the corresponding negative forms of *avu* with the stem alternant *kā*, i.e., *kā-∅-nu* 'I am/will not be' etc. or simply *kādu* 'it is not'. This construction, in preference to the above one, is generally used to express sympathy, repentence or displeasure.

nēnu ninna veḷḷEnu kānu/kādu. 'I did not go yesterday.'

vāḷḷu monna ceppEru kāru/kādu. 'They (hum.) did not tell day–before–yesterday.'

nuvvu ninna ḍabbu iccEvu kāvu/kādu. 'You(sg.) did not give money yesterday.'

In Old Telugu *kānu, kāmu,* etc. are used only with noun phrases including participial nouns but not with finite verbs as in modern Telugu.

cepp-a lēdu '(Subject) did not tell.'

cūḍ-a lēdu '(Subject) did not see.'

Present Negative:

Verbal Noun (suffix (Old)-*ṭa*; (colloquial)

-*aḍam* (North)/-*aṭam* (South)) + *lēdu*

(Old.) *ceppu-ṭa*
(Mod.) *ceppa-aḍam*
cepp-aṭam
} *lēdu*. '(Subject) is not saying.'

(Old.) *tinu-ṭa*
(Mod.) *tin-aḍam*
tin-aṭam
} *lēdu*. '(Subject) is not eating.'

The construction—infinitive of a verb + verbal noun of *pō(vu)* 'to go' + *lēdu* is also sometimes used to express negation in the immediate future.

vāḍu ikkaḍiki rā bōvaḍam lēdu. 'He is not going to come here.'

(iii) The construction with the infinitive of a verb followed by the inflected forms of the negative *lē*- 'to be not' means '(subject) cannot VERB'.

nēnu naḍava lēnu 'I cannot walk.'

mēmu naḍava lēmu 'We cannot walk.'

nuvvu naḍava lēvu 'You (sg.)cannot walk.'

adi naḍava lēdu 'She/it cannot/did not walk.'

(iv) NEGATIVE ADVERB: The suffix is *–aka* (note that the fisrt *a* is dropped after stems of the type (C)$\bar{V}$). In

colloquial Telugu the suffix is usually *-akuṇḍā* (< *aka* + *uṇḍ-a* (infinitive of *uṇḍu* 'to be'); however *-aka* occurs in the colloquial speech with the signification 'because (subject) did not VERB'[7], eg.

vāḍu annam tinaka, cikki pōyāḍu.

'Because he did not eat food, he became lean.'

Old	Mod.	
cūḍ-aka	*cūḍ-akuṇḍā*	'without seeing'
cēy-aka	*ceyy-akuṇḍā*	'without doing'
rā-ka	*rā-kuṇḍā*	'without coming'

(v) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE: The suffix is *-ani* (note that the first *a* is dropped after stems of the type (C) V̄).

cūḍ-ani 'that did/do(es)/will not see'
cepp-ani 'that did/do(es)/will not tell'
rā-ni 'that did/do(es)/will not come'

(vi) NEGATIVE VERBAL NOUN: In Old Telugu it is made by adding *-ami* to the base (note that *a* is dropped after stems of the type (C)V̄).

cūḍ-ami 'not seeing'
cēy-ami 'not doing'
rā-mi 'not coming'

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7. It also occurs in repetition and before the words, *mundu* 'before', *tappādu* 'it cannot be escaped' and the auxiliary *pō-* 'to go' e.g.

vāḷḷu rāka rāka occεru. 'They (hum.) came after a longtime (lit., not coming, not coming).'
veḷḷ-aka mundu 'before (subject) goes'
veḷḷ-aka pōtē 'if (subject) does not go'
veḷḷ-aka tappadu '(subject)cannot escape from going.'

In colloquial Telugu the negative adjective with *-aka* followed by the verbal noun of *pō-* 'to go' conveys the force of the negative verbal noun.

cepp-aka	*pōv-aḍam*	'not telling'
tin-aka	*pōv-aḍam*	'not eating'
rā-ka	*pōv-aḍam*	'not coming'

4.9. Gondi

(I Adilabad Dialect)

(i) FINITE FORMS : The suffix is /*-v-* ∞ *ō-*/-*v-* occurs before the 2nd person markers and before the imperative markers (in the prohibitive mood); in the latter position it freely varies with *-m-*. *-ō-* occurs before suffixes other than those of the 2nd person. This expresses negation in the present, future or habitual.

tinn- 'to eat'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*tinn-ō-n*	*tinn-ō-m*
2.	*t^in-v-ī*	*tin-v-īṭ*
3m.	*tinn-ō-r*	*tinn-(ō)-ēr/tinn-(ō)-ūr*[8]
non-m.	*tinn-ō-Ø*	*tinn-ō-ṅ*

Prohibitive :

aṭ-v ā/aṭ-m-ā (sg.) }
aṭ-v-ā-ṭ/aṭ-m-ā-ṭ (pl.) } 'Do not cook!'

8. The two 3rd masc. pl. forms are dialectal variants. The negative marker is morphophonemically lost before the 3rd masc. pl. suffix.

(ii) Negation in the past is expressed in two ways: The first is to add *-makī(n)* to the verb base.

tar-makī(n) '(Subject) did not bring.'
veh-makī(n) '(Subject) did not tell.'

The second is to add the inflected forms of *sill-* 'to be not' to the past adjective of a verb (note: *tā + s* → *cc* in this construction).

sūṛcillōn 'I did not see.'
vāccillōr 'He did not come.'
ticcillē 'She/it did not eat.'

(iii) NEGATIVE ADVERB: The suffix is *-vāk*.

kēnj-vāk 'without hearing'
veh-vāk 'without telling'
sūṛ-vāk 'without seeing'

(iv) NEGATIVE CONDITIONAL: It consists of the base followed by the negative marker *-v-* which is followed by the conditional marker *-ēkē*.

aṭ-v-ēkē 'if (one) does/will not cook'
vāy-v-ēkē 'if (one) does/will not come'
veh-v-ēkē 'if (one) does/will not tell'

(II Koya Dialect)

(i) FINITE FORMS: The negative suffix is *-vō-* after stems of the (C)VC, CV and C$\bar{V}$ types and *-ō-* after other stems. Before the 2nd person suffixes the *ō* in both is lost. The suffix has an allomorph *vū* (~ *ū*) before the conditional marker (the vowel is short in some idiolects).

nor– 'to wash'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*nor–vō–nu*	*nor–vō–mu*
2.	*nor–v–īni*	*nor-v-īri*
3m.	*nor–vō–ṇḍu*	*nor-v-ōru*
non-m.	*nor–vō–Ø*	*nor–vō-(ku)*

(ii) Negation in the past is expressed by adding to the infinitive of a verb the inflected forms of *ill–* 'to be not' (followed by personal suffixes).

ūḍ-(a) ill-āna. 'I did not see.'
ūḍ-(a) ill–āma. 'We did not see.'
ūḍ–(a) ill–ōṇḍu. 'He did not see.' etc.

(iii) The present negative is expressed by adding to the verbal noun of a verb the word *ille* 'it is not'.

uṇḍ–aṭām ille. '(Subject) is not drinking.'
pār–aṭām ille '(Subject) is not singing'

(iv) Negative Adverb: The suffix is *–akuṇṭa*.

uḍḍ-akuṇṭa 'without ploughing'
ūḍ–akuṇṭa 'without seeing'
kett-akuṇṭa 'without telling'

(v) Negative Adjective: The negative stem itself functions as the negative adjective. Alternately the negative stem *il(l)–ō* (of *ill-* 'to be not') is added to the infinitive of a verb.

ūḍ-ō
ūḍ-(a) il(l)–ō } 'that did/do(es)/will not see'

uḍ-vō } 'that did/do(es) will not plough'
uḍd-(a) il(l)-ō }

(vi) NEGATIVE CONCESSIVE: It structure is:
Base–Neg. - Conditional – Concessive

varr–ū–k–āna } 'even though (one)
varr–u-k -āna } does not come'

aḍ-vū-k-āna } 'even though (one)
aḍ -vu–k–āna } does not weep'

(vii) In the negative potential the nagative forms of *āl*– 'to be able' are added to the infinitive of a verb.

ūḍ-(a) āl-āna 'I cannot see.'

(viii) The past negative potential is expressed by adding to the infinitive of a verb the infinitive of *ā*– 'to be' followed by the inflected forms of *ill*– 'to be not'.

vād-(a) ād-(a) ill-āna 'I could not come.'

4.10. **Konda**

(i) NON–PAST NAGATIVE: It is formed by adding to the base the negative suffix –?– followed by personal suffixes. The three bases *vā*– 'to come', *ta*– 'to bring' and *suṛ*– 'to see' have the special allomorphs *re*– *te*– and *to*– respectively before the negative marker. The two bases *ke*– 'to agree' and *aṭ*– 'to be able to' occur only with the negative marker. *sil*- 'to be not' also occurs only in the negative but after it the negative marker is replaced by zero.

ki- 'to do'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*ki-ʔ-e*	(excl.)	*ki-ʔ-ep*
		(incl.)	*ki-ʔ-eṭ*
2.	*ki-ʔ-i*		*ki-ʔ-ider*
3m.	*ki-ʔ-en*		*ki-ʔ-er*
non-m.	*ki-ʔ-ed*		*ki-ʔ-u*

(ii) Past Negative : It consists of the base followed by the negative marker -ʔ- which in turn is followed by the past suffix /*-et- ~ -it- ~ -ut-*/ followed by the personal suffixes.

nes- 'to know, be capable'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*nes-ʔ-et-a*	(excl.)	*nes-ʔ-et-ap*
		(incl.)	*nes-ʔ-et-aṭ*
2.	*nes-ʔ-it-i*		*nes-ʔ-it-ider*
3m.	*nes-ʔ-et-an*		*nes-ʔ-et-ar*
non-m.	*nes-ʔet-ad*		*nes-ʔut-e*

(iii) Negative Adverb : This is formed by adding to the base the negative marker -ʔ- followed by the extentive marker *-eṇḍa* (which occurs also after the past and non-past markers).

re-ʔ-eṇḍa 'without coming'

si-ʔ-eṇḍa 'without giving'

tap-ʔ-eṇḍa 'without missing'

4.11. Pengo

(i) Present–Future Negative: The negative suffix is *-u-*.

huṛ- 'to see'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*huṛ-u-ṅ*	(excl.)	*huṛ-u-p*
		(incl.)	*huṛ-u-s*
2.	*huṛ-u-y*		*huṛ-u-der*
3m.	*huṛ-u-n*		*huṛ-u-r*
non-m.	*huṛ-u-t*	f.	*huṛ-u-k*
		n.	*huṛ-u-ṅ*

The present negative is obtained by adding *-a* to the present future negative forms: 1 sg. *huṛ-u-ṅg-a*, excl. pl. *huṛ-u-p-a*, incl pl. *huṛ-u-h-a*, etc.

Base final *u* and the negative *u* coalesce to produce a long *ū*, *ṛūṅ* 'I will not plough' (*ṛu-*). A long vowel other than *ū* is shortened before the *u* suffix: *vauṅ*. 'I will not come' (*vā-*). In the case of bases ending in *ō*. *av*–glide is produced: *ovun* 'he will not take' (*ō-*).

In the 2nd sg. the sequence *uy* is often converted to *vi* after a vowel-ending base: *ovi* 'you (sg.) will not take' (*ō-*), *jevi* 'you (sg.) will not open' (*jē-*). It is, however, always retained in the present: *houya* 'you (sg.) are going out' etc.

The particles *e* and *de* are frequently added to forms of the present-future negative: *henute* 'it will not become ripe',

barha māpo nēnjeṅ poḍudde 'it won't rain in our district to-day'. In the past negative only the particle *de* is recorded :

vītvatabde 'We did not sow'.

(ii) Past Negative: This is of the following structure: Base + Negative (*-va-*) + Past (*-t-*) + P. S.

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*huṛ-va-t-aṅ*	(excl.)	*huṛ-va-t-ap*
		(incl.)	*huṛ-va-t-as*
2.	*huṛ-va-t-ay*		*huṛ-va-t-ader*
3m.	*huṛ-va-t-an*		*huṛ-va-t-ar*
non-m.	*huṛ-va-t-at*	f.	*huṛ-vi-t-ik*
		n.	*huṛ-vi-t-iṅ*

The perfect negative is formed by adding *-na* to the past negative forms: *huṛvatanna* 'he has not seen'. As in the positive, the repeated terminations may appear occasionally in other persons besides the 1st sg. and the 3rd pl. fem. and neut., e.g. *huṛvatapnap*. There are also a few examples corresponding to alternative paradigms in the positive (*huṛtanan*, etc.) e.g. *āneṅ ṛūvatanan* 'I have not ploughed.'

(iii) Negative Adverb: The suffix is *-vadaṅ*

tin-vadaṅ 'not having eaten'

uṇ-vadaṅ 'not having drunk'

ta-vadaṅ 'without bringing'

(iv) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE: The present future negative adjective consists of the base followed by the negative suffix *-v-* and the adjective suffix *-i*.

in-v-i 'that did/do(es) will not say'

In the past negative adjective participle the past suffix *-it-* intervenes between the negative marker and the adjective marker.

nār-v-it-i 'that which has not been hollowed out'

4.13. **Kui**

(i) NON-PAST NEGATIVE: The negative suffix is *-ʔ-*.

tin- 'to eat'

Sg.		Pl.
tin-ʔ-enu	(excl.)	*tin-ʔ-amu*
	(incl.)	*tin-ʔ-asu*
tin-ʔ-ai		*tin-ʔ-eru*
tin-ʔ-enju		*tin-ʔ-eru*
tin-ʔ-e		*tin-ʔ-o*

(ii) PAST NEGATIVE: The structure of this is:

Base + Negative (*-ʔa-*) + Past (*-t-*) + P. S.

1.	*tin-ʔa-enu*	(excl.)	*tin-ʔa-t-amu*
		(incl.)	*tin-ʔa-t-asu*
2.	*tin-ʔa-t-i*		*tin-ʔa t-eru*
3m.	*tin-ʔa-t-enju*		*tin-ʔa-t-eru*
non-m.	*tin-ʔa-t-e*		*tin-ʔa-t-u*

(iii) In addition to the above two morphological constructions, Kui contains four periphrastic constructions to express negation, viz. present negative, imperfect negative, perfect negative and pluperfect negative. Of these, the first two constructions make use of the present adverb while the latter two employ the perfect participle. The second member of the present and the past negative constructions is the present-future forms of the negative verb *siḍ-* 'to be not' while that of the imperfect and the pluperfect negative constructions is the past negative forms of the same verb.

Present Negative :
ānu tākai siḍenu 'I am not walking.'

Imperfect Negative :
ānu tākai siḍatenu 'I was not walking.'

Perfect Negative :
ānu tāka siḍenu 'I have not walked.'

Pluperfect Negative :
ānu tāka siḍatenu 'I had not been walking.'

(iv) NEGATIVE ADVERB : The suffix is *-arange* or *-araa* (the latter is probably more common).

sūṛ-arange / *sūṛ-araa* } 'not having seen'

sī-arange / *sī-araa* } 'not having given'

sal-arange / *sal-araa* } 'not having gone'

(v) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE : There are two negative adjectives in Kui, one for the future and the other for the past. The structure of the future negative adjective is: Base + Negative (*-ʔa-*) + Future (*-n-*) + Adjective (*-i*).

lāk-ʔa-n-i 'that do(es)/will not sacrifice'
kō-ʔa-n-i 'that do(es)/will not reap'
sōl-ʔa-n-i 'that do(es)/will not enter'
tin-ʔa-n-i 'that do(es)/will not eat'

The structure of the past negative adjective is: Base + Negative (*-ʔa-*) + Past (*-t-*) + Adjective (*-i*).

lāk-ʔa-t-i 'that did not sacrifice'
kō-ʔa-t-i 'that did not reap'
sōl-ʔa-t-i 'that did not enter'
tin-ʔa-t-i 'that did not eat'

4.14. **Kuvi**

(i) NON-PAST NEGATIVE : The negative suffix is *-ʔo-* (the *o* in it is dropped before suffixes beginning with a vowel).

pāy- 'to beat'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*pāyo-ʔō-∅*	(excl.)	*pāy-ʔ-omi*
		(incl.)	*pāy-ʔ-ohi*
2.	*pāy-ʔo-di*		*pāy-ʔo-deri*
3m.	*pāy-ʔo-si*		*pāy-ʔo-ri*
non m.	*pāy-ʔ-e*		*pāy-ʔ-u*

(ii) Past Negative: The structure is: Base + Negative (-ʔa-) + Past (-t-) + P. S.

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*pāy-ʔa-t-eʔẽ*	(excl.)	*pāy-ʔa-t-omi*
		(incl.)	*pāy-ʔa-t-o*
2.	*pāy-ʔa-t-i*		*pāy-ʔa-t-eri*
3m.	*pāy-ʔa-t-esi*		*pāy-ʔa-t-eri*
non-m.	*pāy-ʔa-t-e*		*pāy-ʔā-t-u*

(iii) In addition to the above two morphological constructions, there are four periphrastic constructions in Kuvi, viz, the present negative, the imperfect negative, the perfect negative and the pluperfect negative. Of these, the first two constructions are formed on the present adverb and the remaining two on the past adverb. The second member in the general forms of these constructions is the (negative) conjugated forms of the auxiliary verb *hil-* 'to be not' and in the direct forms it is the negative conjugated forms of *man-* 'to be'. In the present and the perfect negative constructions the non-past negative forms are used while in the imperfect and the pluperfect constructions the past negative forms (of the above verbs) are used.

Present Negative:

(General)	*nānu pāyi hilʔo.*	'I am not beating.'
(Special)	*nānu pāyi manjʔo*	

Imperfect Negative:

(General)	*nānu pāyi hilʔatʔe.*	'I was not beating.'
(Special)	*nānu pāyi manjʔatʔe*	

Perfect Negative :

(General) *nānu pāya hilʔo.* } 'I have not
(Special) *nānu pāya mānjʔo.* } beaten.'

Pluperfect Negative :

(General) *nānu pāya hilʔatʔe.* } 'I had not
(Special) *nānu pāya manjaʔatʔe.* } been beating.'

(iv) NEGATIVE ADVERB : The suffix is -*ʔahanaha*/ -*ʔanaha*.

pāy-ʔahanaha 'not having beaten'

ta-ʔanaha 'not bringing'

"A second type of negative participle is referred to by Schulze on p. 139 where forms like *wehʔaki* "not speaking", *doh-ʔaki* "not building", and *wāaki* "not coming" are quoted." (so Burrow and Bhattacharya 1963 : 267).

(v) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE : The non-past negative adjective is formed by adding the negative suffix -*ʔa* to the base:

pāy-ʔa 'that do(es)/will not beat'

The past negative adjective is of the structure :

Base + Negative (-*ʔa*) + Past (-*t*-) + Adjective (*i*).

tōh-ʔa-ti 'that did not show'

(vi) NEGATIVE VERBAL NOUN : The suffix is -ʔatayi.
pāy-ʔatayi 'not beating'

4.15. Kolami

(i) NON-PAST NEGATIVE : The negative suffix is *-e-*.

sī- 'to give'

Sg.	Pl.
sī-e-n	*sī-e-m*
sī-e-v	*sī-e-r*
sī-e-n	*sī-e-r*
sī-e-(d)	

(Emeneau did not record the 3rd non-masc. pl. form in this paradigm. Setumadhava Rao, however, gives the expected form, i,e. *s-ī-e-v* in the Adilabad dialect.)

Although the past negative is there in the language, the non-past negative also may rarely be used in its place :

nīv amnun ōlevtiri, seddiv. 'Although you(sg.)did not see him, you went away.'

(ii) PAST NEGATIVE : The structure of it is:
Base + Negative(*-e-*) + Past(*-t-*) + P.S.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*si-e-t-an*	*sī-e-t-am*
2.	*sī-e-t-iv*	*sī-e-t-ir*
3m.	*sī-e-t-en*	*sī-e-t-er*
non-m.	*sī-e-t-in*	*sī-e-t-ev*

(iii) In addition to the above two morphological constructions, Kolami has five periphrastic constructions viz., continuative negative, continuative past negative, completive

negative, completive past negative, and future negative. In all these constructions the first member is a participle and the second member is either the non-past negative or the past negative of the defective verb *tōt–* 'to be not, not to be in a place'.

1. *Continuative Negative:*
   Present Adverb + Negative forms of *tōt–*.
   vaa tōten. 'I am not coming, will not come.'

2. *Continuative Past Negative:*
   Present Adverb + Past Negative forms of *tōt–*.

"The meaning in the few examples is past negative irrealis."

ān idn tina tottante, anuṅ vessa vaa tottin.
'If I had not eaten this, fever would not have come to me.'

3. *Completive Negative:*
   Past Adverb + Negative forms of *tōt–*.
   ān vattōten. 'I did not come.'

4. *Completive Past Negative:*
   Past Adverb + Past Negative forms of *tōt–*.

The meaning is past negative irrealis.

ān adn tint tottantiri vessa vattin.
'Although I had not eaten it, fever had come.'

5. *Future Negative:*
   Future Adverb + Negative forms of *tōt–*.
   varak tōten. 'I will not come.'

(iv) Negative Adverb: The suffix is (Wardha) *-sel* / (Adilabad) *-seṭay*.

tin–sel / *ti-seṭay* 'not having eaten'
ser–sel / *ser–seṭay* 'not having gone'

(v) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE: This is made by adding the negative marker *-e-* to the base.

tin-e 'that did/do(es)/will not eat'
kork-e 'that did/do(es)/will not bite'
var-e 'that did/do(es)/will not come'

4.16. Naiki (Ch.)

(i) NON-PAST NEGATIVE: The negative suffix is *-e-*.

āṛ- 'to play'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*āṛ-e-n*	*āṛ-e-m*
3m.	*āṛ-e-n*	*āṛ-e-d*
non-m.	*āṛ-e-d*	*āṛ-e-Ø*

(ii) PAST NEGATIVE: The structure is:

Base + Negative (*-e-*) + Past (*-t-*) + P. S.

1.	*āṛ-e-t-an*	*āṛ-e-t-am*
2.	*āṛ-e-t-i*	*āṛ-e-t-ir*
3m.	*āṛ-e-t-en*	*āṛ-e-t-er*
non-m.	*āṛ-e-t-un*	*āṛ-e-t-e*

4.17. Parji

(i) NON-PAST NEGATIVE: The negative suffix is *-a-*. Except in the three verbs *pun-* 'to know', *er-* 'to be' and *oṛ-* 'to be able', the non-past negative forms add an additional *a* in the final position; in the 3rd non-masc. sg. where the personal suffix is Ø, the glide *y* occurs between the two *a*'s.

cūṛ- 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cūṛ-a-n-a*	*cūṛ-a-m-a*
2.	*cūṛ-a-t-a*	*cūṛ-a-r-a*
3m.	*cūṛ-a-d-a*	*cūṛ-a-r-a*
non-m.	*cūṛ-ay-∅-a*	*cūṛ-a-v-a*

pun- 'to know'

1.	*pun-a-n*	*pun-a-m*
2.	*pun-a-t*	*pun-a-r*
3m.	*pun-a-d*	*pun-a-r*
non-m.	*pun-a-∅*	*pun-a-v*

The Southern dialect of Parji has a tendency to normalize the forms of the latter type by adding the *a* finally, e g. *pun-a-n-a*, etc.

This conjugation occasionally expresses negation in the past also in addition to negation in the non-past:

ān ṭegana. 'I did not receive.' (Text I, sentence 33)

pokkoḍ bele ūbada. 'When addressed, he would not speak.' (Text IX, sentence 141)

tud kaḍoḍ bele sārañdev kōc cayada.
'Though she burnt it, Sarañdev Kōc did not die.' (Text IX, sentenee 158)

ōd kāñada. 'He did not carry.' (Text VIII, sentence 32)

(ii) PERFECT NEGATIVE: The structure is:

Base + Negative (*-a-*; *-ay-* before *-∅-*) + P. S. + Perfect (*-i-*)

cūṛ- 'to see'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cūṛ-a-ni*	*cūṛ-a-m-i*
2.	*cūṛ-a-t-i*	*cūṛ-a-r-i*
3m.	*cūṛ-a-d-i*	*cūṛ-a-r-i*
non-m.	*cūṛ-ay-∅-i*	*cūṛ-a-v-i*

(*cūṛani* 'I have not seen', etc.)

This type is absent in the texts recorded by Burrow and Bhattacharya; this fact indicates that it is not genuine to the Parji language and that it is of much recent origin.

(iii) PRETERITE NEGATIVE: It is made by adding the negative suffix *-a* to the forms of the affirmative preterite conjugation, e.g. *cūṛ-∅-en* 'I saw' : *cūṛ-∅-en-a* 'I did not see'.[9]

9. An exception to this is the 3rd neut. sg. form. While the affirmative preterite form is *cūṛoto*, the corresponding negative preterite form is *cūṛoya*. Here the *a* negative suffix is added to *cūṛo* (without the *-to*) with the development of the *y* glide between the two vowels. Besides, Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953 : 52) state that forms like *cūṛoto*, etc. originally belong to the extended form of the preterite. Actually verbs which have the past stem with an overt past suffix form their 3rd neut. sg. form simply with *-o* instead of *-oto*, e.g. *cendo* from *cen-* 'to go' and *etto* from *en-* 'to say'.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*cūṛ-∅-en-a*	*cūṛ-∅-om-a*
2.	*cūṛ̤-∅-ot-a*	*cūṛ-∅-or-a*
3m.	*cūṛ-∅-eḍ-a*	*cṛ̤ṛ-∅-er-a*
non-m.	*cūṛ̤-∅-oy-∅-a*	*cūṛ-∅-ov-a*

The above rule that the preterite negative conjugation is made by adding the *a* negative to the affirmative preterite conjugation holds good only in the case of such verbs in which the past tense marker is -∅-. However, verbs that have a separate past stem with an overt past suffix form the preterite conjugation on the past stem in the affirmative and on the verb base or the stem ending in *p* (in the case of verbs having alternate stems in *p/t*) in the negative. Thus, from the verb *culp–/cult-* 'to rise' the 1st sg. form of the affirmative preterite is *culp–∅–en–a.* That is, in the preterite negative the preterite suffix is -∅- in all the verbs

	Person and number	Affirmative preterite	Negative preterite
cī- 'to give'	2 sg.	*ci-ñ-ot*	*ciy-∅-ot a*
paḍ- 'to fall'	2 sg.	*paṭ-ṭ-ot*	*paḍ-∅-ot-a*
aṛ- 'to cry'	2 pl.	*aṛ-n-or*	*aṛ-∅-or-a*
er- 'to become'	3 n.sg.	*e-ñ-oto* (S. *e-ñ-ata*)	*er-∅-oy-a*

It is probable that the -∅- past suffix has been analogically extended to all verbs in the preterite negative. Although it is not certain, it may be assumed that in pre-Parji the negative marker *a* was added to the actual preterite forms (with different past suffixes).

(iv) A periphrastic construction which is used to express negation in the past is formed by adding to the negative adjective (or more probably, the negative adverb with a special negative allomorph) of a verb the imperfect forms of the verb *men–* 'to be'.

ole cena mẽdid '(He) did not go home.'
īten ūba mẽdir '(They) did not speak like this.'
kor pī catipa mẽdidge '(He) did not step on hen's dirt.'

(v) Negative Adverb: The suffix is *-aka* (added to the *p–* stem in the case of verbs having alternate stems in *p/t*).

cūṛ-aka 'without seeing'
culp-aka 'without rising'
ver–aka 'without coming'

(iv) Negative Adjective: It is made by adding the negative suffix *-a* to the base or the *p–* stem.

cen–a 'that did/do(es)/will not go'
ciy–a 'that did/do(es)/will not give'
kāp–a 'that did/do(es)/will not wait'

4.18. **Gadba (Ollari)**

(i) Non-Past Negative: The negative suffix is *–a–*.

	sūṛ- 'to see'	
1.	*sūṛ-a-n*	*sūṛ–a–m*
2.	*sūṛ–a–ṭ*	*sūṛ-a-r*
3m.	*sūṛ–a-nḍ*	*sūṟ–a-r*
non-m.	*sūṛ–a–Ø*	*sūṛ–a-v*

It expresses negation in all tenses, including the past.

(ii) PAST NEGATIVE: This construction seems to contain the affirmative past forms of the obsolete verb **uḷ-* 'to be'. They seem to be added to the negative adverb of a verb of which the final *a* is lost before the following vowel *u* (note that a similar construction occurs in Parji). That is, *manuṭon* 'I did not stay' etc. may be analysed as *man-a + u-ṭ-on*, etc.

man- 'to be, stay'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*manuṭon*	*manuṭom*
2.	*manuṭoṭ*	*manuṭor*
3m.	*manuṭonḍ*	*manuṭor*
non-m.	*manuṭe*	*manuṭev*

(iii) PAST PROGRESSIVE NEGATIVE: This is a periphrastic construction the first member of which is the non-past negative form followed by *-i* (past marker), the second member being the corresponding affirmative preterite form of *man-* 'to be, stay'

īl- 'to fall'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*īl-a-n-i ma-ṭ-on*	*īl-a-m-i ma-ṭ-om*
2.	*īl-a-ṭ-i ma-ṭ-oṭ*	*īl-a-r-i ma-ṭ-or*
3m.	*īl-a-nḍ-i ma-ṭ-onḍ*	*īl-a-r-i ma-ṭ-or*
non-m.	*īl-a-d-i ma-ṭ-e*	*īl-a-v-i ma-ṭ-ev*

(*īlani maṭon* 'I was not falling', etc.)

The first member of this construction closely resembles the perfect negative paradigm of Parji.

(iv) PRESENT PROGRESSIVE NEGATIVE: Apart from the non-past negative paradigm which may be used for this purpose, a periphrastic construction comprising the first constituent of the above construction (*īlani*, etc.) and the corresponding present tense form of *man-*.

sūṛan } '(I) am not seeing.'
sūṛani mayan. }

(v) FUTURE PROGRESSIVE NEGATIVE: The first member of this construction is the 3rd non-m. sg. form of the past tense while the second member is the non-past negative form of *say-* 'to say'.

sūṛeṭe sayan. 'I will not be seeing.'

sūṛeṭe sayam. 'We will not be seeing.'

(vi) The perfect negative may also be expressed by adding to the past adverb of a verb the non-past or the past negative forms of *man-*.

sūṛi manan. '(I) have not seen.'
sūṛi manuṭon. '(I) had not seen.'

(vii) NEGATIVE ADVERB: The suffix is *-a*. It is generally followed by the particle *kerin*.

sūṛ-a kerin 'not having seen'
sīy-a kerin 'not having given'

(viii) NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE: Ii is made by adding the negative marker *-a* to the base.

pun-a 'that did/do(es) will not know'

4.19. Kurux

It has no morphological negative construction. Negation is expressed by adding the negative word *mal/māl/malʔa* 'not' before the affirmative verb forms.

mal keras, mal kaos. '(He)did not go, (neither) shall he go.'

ās enghai karnē eklā malʔā, pahẽ xallan hõ ērage barcas. 'He came not only for my sake, but also to see his friends.'

The defective verb *mal–* 'to be not' is inflected in the past and the present tenses.

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*mal–d–an*	(excl.)	*mal–d-am*
		(incl.)	*mal–d–at*
2.	*mal-d-ay*		*mal-d-ar*
3m.	*mal-d-as*		*mal-y-ar* / *mal-n-ar*
non-m.	*mal–ʔ-i*		

(The above forms, which are non-past, have variants with *y* in the place of *d*, i.e. *mal–y–an*, etc. F. Hahn (1911:68) says that *maldan* is indefinite and *malyan* is definite.)

īs embas mallyas. 'This man is not my father.'
enghai ālas malkas 'I have no husband.'
īr kuṛxar mallyar. 'These are not Oraons.'

There are no negative non-finite forms also in this language.

4.20. Malto

(i) This language also lacks the morphological negative construction. The word *mala* 'not' is added to the affirmative future forms to indicate negation.

> *āden mala* 'I will not select.'
>
> *ādem mala* 'We (excl.) will not select.', etc.

Contracted forms without the sequence *–ma–* also occur: *ādlene* for *āden mala.*

Negation in the present is expressed by adding to the verbal noun with the suffix *-o*, the affirmative past forms of *mal-* 'to be not'

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*ādo maleken*	(excl.)	*ādo malekem*
		(incl.)	*ādo maleket*
2.	*ādo maleke*		*ādo maleker*
f.	*ādo maleki*		
3m.	*ādo malah*		*ādo malar*
non-m.	*ādo malath*		

Abbreviated forms of this conjugation lack the phonemic sequence *ma* and also *e* followed by *k* wherever they occur. Thus the abbreviated forms of *ādomaleken* and *ādolmalath* are *ādolken* and *ādolath* respectively.

The past negative forms like Isg. *ādleken*, excl. pl. *ādlekem*, incl. pl. *ādleketh*, etc, also are syntactic constructions with the verb *mal-* in orgin.

(ii) Negative Adverb: For the verb *ād-*, Droese gives the following four negative participles : *ādleke, ādlako, ādlati* and *ādomalno*. It is certain that all of them originally contain the verb *mal-*. Two more forms *ādo malne* and *ādo malle* given by Droese as negative adverbial participles evidently contain *mal-*.

The construction containing the verb base itself or with the suffix *-a* followed by *balo* 'without' also is used as negative adverb.

ṭunḍ balo	'not seeing'
sikar-a balo	'not having learnt'
nōḍr-a balo	'without having bathed'
lap-balo	'without eating'

(iii) Negative Adjective: This has two different forms both of which contain the verb *mal.*

ādo malu *ādo malpe*	'that do(es)/will not select'

4.21. **Brahui**

(i) Present Indefinite Negative: The negative suffix is /*a*~∅/; the allomorph *a* occurs before the personal suffixes beginning with a consonant and ∅ elsewhere (i.e., before a personal suffix which is either ∅ or begins with a vowel). The negative suffix occurs after *-p* which is the non-past marker. The structure of this construction is: Base + Non-past (*-p-*) + Negative + P. S.

tix- 'to place'

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*tix-p-a-r*	*tix-p-a-n*
2.	*tix-p-Ø-ēs*	*tix-p-Ø-ēre*
3.	*tix-p-Ø-Ø*	*tix-p-a-s*

(*ī tixpar.* 'I may not place.')

The negative present-future paradigm is formed by suffixing *-a* to the conjugational forms of the negative present indefinite, the exceptions being that the 2nd pl. form does not add *-a* and that *-ak* instead of *-a* is added in the 3rd sg.

1.	*tix-p-a-r-a*	*tix-p-a-n-a*
2.	*tix-p-Ø-ēs-a*	*tix-Ø-ere*
3.	*tix-p-Ø-ak*	*tix-p-a-s-a*

(*ī tixpara.* 'I do/will not place.')

(ii) All the remaining six negative constructions, namely, the probable future, the past conditional, the past, the imperfect, the pluperfect and the perfect make use of the conjugated forms of the substantive verb *ann-* 'to be'.

The probable future negative is made by adding to the present-future stem with the suffix *-p-* the sequence *-aro-* and then the affirmative present of the substantive verb the initial vowel of which is elided. The *a* in *-aro-* is the negative suffix and *-ro-* may be considered as the future suffix.[10]

1.	*tix-p-a-ro+ṭ*	*tix-p-a-ro+n*
2.	*tix-p-a-ro+s*	*tix-p-a-ro+re*
3.	*tix-p-a-ro+e*	*tix-p-a-ro+r*

10. Both Bray (1909 : 143) and Ramaswami Aiyar (1929C : 122) gave the implausible explanation that *r* in this conjugation is used "to bridge the hiatus".

(*ī tixparoṭ*. 'I will probably not place.')

In Jhalawan dialect the probable future is formed by adding to the verb base the future suffix *o* and then the present negative of the substantive verb, the initial vowel of which is elided.

ī bis-o+f-a-ṭ 'I will (probably) not bake.'

ī xul-o+f-a-ṭ 'I will (probably) not fear.'

The formation of the past conditional is closely similar to that of the probable future, the only difference being that the past and not the present of the substantive verb is employed.

bisparosuṭ 'had (I) not baked'

bimparosuṭ 'had (I) not heard'

This conjugation in the Jhalawan dialect is formed on the 3rd person sg. of the probable future negative of the same dialect.

ī bisofēsuṭ 'had I not baked'

ī xulofēsuṭ 'had I not feared'

(iii) The past negative conjugation consists of the erstwhile past stem (with the base followed by the past suffix *t*) followed by the present of the substantive verb negative (1st sg. *affaṭ*, 1st pl. *affan*, 2nd sg. *affēs*, 2nd pl. *affēre*, 3rd sg. *aff(ak)*, 3rd pl. *affas*). Bray (1909 : 146) assumes that the negative suffix *a* also is originally present after the *t* past suffix and it is morphophonemically lost. However, in a footnote on the same page he observes: "And hence it might be argued that only the past sign *-t-*

and the negative present of the substantive verb are attached to the base. The version given in the text seems, on the whole, preferable." Note the following changes in the substantive verb : *ff* → *v*, 3rd sg. *aff* → *au*.

Sg.	Pl.
tixtavaṭ	*tixtavan*
tixtavēs	*tixtavēre*
tixtau	*tixtavas*

(*ī tixtavaṭ*. 'I did not place.')

The imperfect negative is formed by suffixing *-a* to the conjugational forms of the past negative with the exception that the 2nd pl. form does not take the *-a* and that *-aka* instead of *-a* is added to the 3rd sg.

ī tixtavaṭa. 'I was not placing.'

ī tittavaṭa. 'I was not understanding.'

The perfect negative is formed from the erstwhile past stem with the past suffix *-t-* by suffixing *-an-* and adding the affirmative present of the substantive verb *ann-* 'to be'. The *a* in *-an-* is the negative suffix.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*tix-t-an uṭ*	*tix-t-an un*
2.	*tix-t-an us*	*tix-t-an ure*
3.	*tix-t-an e*	*tix-t-an o*

(*ī tixtanuṭ* 'I have not placed.')

The 3rd sg. form of the past negative serves as the basis for the pluperfect negative. The diphthong of this form is changed into *-av* and the affirmative past conjugational forms of the auxiliary verb *ann-* are added to it. In this construction the initial vowel of the substantive verb most commonly appears as *ē* rather than as *a*, though forms with the expected *a* occur much less commonly.

Sg.	Pl.
tixtavēsuṭ	*tixtavēsun*
tixtavēsus	*tixtavēsure*
tixtavēsas	*tixtavēsur*

(*ī tixtavēsuṭ*. 'I had not placed.')

The less common variants of these forms with the *a* vowel are: *tixtavasuṭ*, etc.

Negative non-finite forms are absent in Brahui.

COMPARATIVE STUDY

4.22. Reconstructed Suffixes

The mophological negative construction with the structure: Base - Negative Suffix - Personal Suffix is present in all the languages excepting Kuḍux and Malto. Therefore there is little doubt that it belongs to the Proto-Dravidian stage. The loss of this construction in the above mentioned languages may be attributed to the influence of Indo-Aryan. As evidenced by Old Tamil and Old Telugu the original

signification of this construction seems to be simple negation without regard to time. In the later stages, however, it is restricted to express nagation in the non-past or the habitual. Several syntactic constructions like (i) past adverb of a verb+the inflected forms of the negative verb, and (ii) infinitive of a verb + the negative word meaning 'it is not (there)' have been devised to express negation in the past. Many of the Central languages, however, have created a second morphological construction to express the past negative (see § 4.26).

There is an important difference between the South Dravidian languages excepting Tuḷu (as represented by Old Tamil and Old Kannaḍa) and the others in the matter of the occurrence of the negative suffix in the finite paradigm. In Old Tamil and Old Kannaḍa the negative marker, Old Ta. *-ā-* ; Old Ka. *-a-* occurs only in the 3rd neut sg and pl. forms; note that in Kannaḍa the neut. pl. suffix *-vu* has been added in the negative form analogically. Koḍugu seems to have generalized the form containing the base plus the negative marker *-a* to all persons and numbers.

In forms other than 3rd neut. sg. and pl. the negative suffix is -Ø- in Old Tamil and Old Kannḍa. Kota and Toda also agree with them in showing the zero suffix in the forms of the 1st and the 2nd persons. Therefore it is possible to assume that in Proto-Tamil-Kannaḍa the negative marker is *-ā-* before 3rd neut. sg. and pl. suffixes and -Ø- before other personal suffixes, (The 3rd person forms in Kota and Toda seem to be innovations.) In contradistinction to this, the other languages, i.e., Tuḷu, the Central Dravidian group

of languages and Brahui show the reflexes of the negative marker *-*ā*- before all the personal suffixes in the finite paradigm. It is very difficult to decide as to which of the two types represents the Proto-Dravidian situation. If it is assumed that the type in the Tamil-Kannaḍa group is Proto-Dravidian, then the development of the other type in the remaining languages must be explained as due to the analogical extension of the *-*ā*- negative marker to the forms other than 3rd neut. sg. and pl. On the other hand, if we reconstruct the second type to Proto-Dravidian, we must say that in the Tamil–Kannaḍa group the *-*ā*- negative marker has been morphophonemically dropped before the suffixes that begin with a vowel. The following points, however, are in favour of considering the second type to be the Proto-Dravidian: (i) It occurs in the languages of more than one subgroup, i.e., Tuḷu of South Dravidian, all the Central Dravidian languages and Brahui of North Dravidian. (ii) In Tuḷu, which belongs to South Dravidian, the glide *y* occurs between the negative suffix and the personal suffixes that begin with a vowel. It is possible that the suffix *-*ā*- was present in Proto-South Dravidian before all the personal suffixes as in Tuḷu; the unwanted sequence of two vowels was avoided in Tuḷu by introducing the glide *y* between them while in the other Southern languages it is avoided by dropping the first vowel, i.e. the negative marker.

4.23. *-*ā*-

The negative suffix that can be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian is *ā-. The length of the vowel is retained by Tamil, Malayalam, Kota and Toda; in Kannaḍa inscriptions

the negative adverb retains the long *ā* up to the 8th Century A.D.; it is shortend in the later period. In all the remaining languages the vowel becomes shortened because in the non-initial syllables of those languages long vowels are not permitted, also cf.

(i) Ta. *ēmāṟu* 'to beguiled', Ko. *ēmār–* 'to gasp (from sudden fright)', To. *ēmōt–* 'to deceive', Te. *ēmaṟu* 'to be forgetful'. (*DED* 760)

(ii) Ta. *ārāy* 'to investigate', Ma. *ārāy-* 'to seek' Ka. *āray*(*u*) 'to search', Tu. *ārayisu–* 'to expect', Te. *ārayu* 'to think, search'. (*DED* 319).

(iii) Ta. *cōmāṟi* 'sluggard, idler', Ko. *cōmāry* 'idle fellow'. Tu. *sōmāri* 'lazy man', Te. *sōmari* 'idle person'. (*DED* 2352)

The Kolami-Naiki negative suffix *–e–* also is the reflex of original **ā*-. Go. *-ō–*, Pe. *-u–* and Kuvi *–o–* are also similarly from **ā–;* the *v* that precedes the vowel in the group seems to be responsible for the back quality of the vowel (see § 4.25.).

Earlier scholars have speculated about the origin of this suffix. Caldwell (1956:476) and Alfred Master (1946: 140-41) think that it is derived from the interrogative *ā*. According to them, the meaning of negation comes from the meaning of question. However, the derivation is fanciful since the negative marker occurs between the base and the personal suffix in a morphological construction—a position

where the interrogative marker can never occur. Likewise, Kittel's theory (1903 : 161) that the negative conjugation is based on the infinitive ending in *a* must also be rejected in view of the implausible semantic connections. As in the case of many other suffixes for which we cannot trace origins, it is better consider *ā* as the negative suffix right from the beginning

4.24. -Ø-

It has already been observed that the zero negative suffix occurs only in the Tamil-Kannaḍa group of languages before suffixes other than 3rd neut. sg and pl. It is not certain whether the zero here represents the original **ā* suffix that has been lost before personal suffies that begin with a vowel.

Caldwell (1956 : 471) seems to be right in considering the zero suffix to be secondary in origin arising from the elision of the original *ā* negative suffix. He states the rationale of this suffix as follows: "The absence of signs of tense appears to contribute to the expression of the idea of negation; it may at least be said that it precludes the signification of the affirmative." (*op. cit.*, 469). On the other hand. Alfred Master (*op. cit.*, 144–45, 150) is obviously wrong when he says that the *ā* negative suffix is confin d only to Tamil and Malayalam and that "the zero negative is in origin the non-thematic form of the positive present tense or, what was probably its earliest form, the incomplete aspect, differing in no way from it except in tone." Subrahmanya Sastri (1947 : 194) also says, "P. D. (Proto-Dravidian) formed the negative voice by adding the verbal termination directly to the root, signifying the negation through a particular intonation......"

There is no supporting evidence for the theory of these two scholars that the negative forms have a special intonation. Actually there is no necessity for such a special intonation for these forms since the suffix in them is capable of denoting negation.

4.25. *-*vā*-

The languages Goṇḍi, Koṇḍa, Pengo, (Maṇḍa), Kui and Kuvi share a peculiarity in their negative markers. In Gondi the negative marker is -*v*- before the 2nd person suffixes and -*ō*- elsewhere; since the prohibitive suffix -*vā* and the negative adverbial suffix -*vāk* contain the sequence *vā* it may be supposed that in the finite paradigm also the negative marker was -*vā*- originally. It became *ō* before the non-2nd person suffixes and before the 2nd person suffixes the vowel has been dropped. In the Koya dialect the *v* appears throughout the paradigm in the negative forms of verbs of the types (C)VC, CV and C$\bar{V}$; the allomorphs -*vō*- and -*ō*- and -*vū*- and -*ū*- in this are derived from the original *-*vā*-. The Koya dialect seems to have preserved the original situation in showing the *v* throughout the paradigm in a large class of verbs. The glottal stop in Koṇḍa, Kui and Kuvi in this suffix seems to be the reflex of the original *v*.[11] The negative suffixes *u* in Pengo present-future negative and *o* in Kuvi non-past negative are also from original **vā*; note that in the past negative of Pengo the negative marker remains as -*va*-.

11. Note the Jules Bloch (1954:67) observes: "It is possible that the glottal stop (in the Kui negative suffix) should be the remnant of an old consonantal articulation that has completely disappeared elsewhere...."

It is clear from this that the negative suffix can be reconstructed as **-vā-* in this subgroup. At present it is difficult to explain the additional *v* in the suffix. In Brahui the negative marker *a* is preceded by *p* in the non-past nagative forms; it may be the non-past marker in origin. It is not certain whether the Brahui *p* has something to do with the *v* of Proto-Gondi-Kuvi **-vā-*. Emeneau (1962 : 40-41), however, attempted to connect the *p* in the Brahui forms with the labials that occur in the negative forms of some verbs in Tuḷu, Telugu and Parji. The labial in the Tuḷu verbs like *maḷpi-* 'to do' *kalpi-* 'to learn', etc and that in the Parji verbs that have alternate stems in p/t are clearly non-past suffixes in origin. However, in the Telugu verbs that have basic stem alternants in *-cu* it is replaced by *v* if it is a simple derivative suffix and by *p* if it is a transitive marker before suffixes beginning with *-a* and in the imperative, e g *naḍav-aka* 'without walking' (: *naḍacu* 'to walk') *tīr-p-aka* 'without finishing' (*tīr-cu* 'to finish'). In such cases the *v* is the glide and *p* the transitive marker. Therefore the labials in the Telugu forms cannot be related to the labials in the negative suffixes of the above mentioned languages. However, we may tentatively suppose that the labial that precedes the negative marker in some verbs in Tuḷu and Parji and in all verbs in Goṇḍi-Koṇḍa and Brahui is a non-past marker (its occurrence in the past negative constructions in Koṇḍa-Kuvi must be a later development). Its presence in the negative forms must be an independent innovation in those languages since in the rest of languages the negative marker is never preceded by the non-past marker

and, moreover, even in the languages in which it occurs, it does not appear in etymologically related verbs.[12].

4.26. Past Negative

Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu have the syntactic construction:

Infinitive of a verb + Ta. *illai*, Ka. *illa*,
Te. *lēdu* 'it is not (there)'

to express negation in the past. In Malayalam, however, the construction expresses negation in the future. It is not certain whether this construction goes back to any proto-stage since it does not occur in the remaining languages and its meaning in Malayalam differs from that in the others. It is possible that the construction originated in one of the languages and spread to the others.

On the other hand, the Old Tamil construction—Past Adverb + Inflected forms of *il-* has its counterparts in Goṇḍi and possibly, also in Brahui, and, therefore, may be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian. The Goṇḍi forms *vāccillōr* 'he did not come' < **vā-t* 'having come', *sillōr* 'he is not', etc. are parallel to the Old Tamil construction under consideration (the past adverb with the *-t-* suffix has remained in Goṇḍi only in this construction). The Brahui past negative

12. Emeneau (1962 : 41) also sceptically says: "It is just possible that the Parji, Telugu, and Tuḷu evidence may lead to reconstruction of PDr. negative forms with a labial + the negative suffix for certain verbs. If so, it might be possible to link the Brahui forms to the reconstruction. But the reconstruction must be based on specific etymologically related forms, which are not now at hand."

is clearly a syntactic construction with erstwhile past adverb plus the negative forms of the substantive verb; therefore it also resembles the Old Tamil construction.

The Central Dravidian languages, Konḍa, Pengo, (Manḍa), Kui, Kuvi, Kolami and Naiki contain a morphological past negative construction with the structure:[13]

Base - Negative – Past – Personal suffix

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13. Parji, on the other hand, has two types of past negative called "perfect negative" and "preterite negative". Of these, the former is of the structure : Base - Negative -- Personal suffix - Perfect suffix *(i)*; the difference between the simplex negative and this one is that the former ends in *a* (which is absent only in three verbs) and the latter in *i*. Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953 : 64) note that this is "the least commonly attested" negative tense. The preterite negative has the structure: Base–Past–Personal–Negative *(a)*, e.g. *cūṛ-Ø-en-a* 'I did not see'. Although these two tenses carry the same significance as the past negatives of the above mentioned languages, their structure is so different from that of the latter ones that any historical connection between them is obviously ruled out. Note that in the negative preterite form the past suffix is Ø in all verbs, e.g.

Base	Person & number	Affirmative preterite form	Negative preterite form
ci- 'to give'	2 sg.	*ci-ñ-ot*	*ciy-Ø-ot-a*
paḍ- 'to fall'	2 sg.	*paṭ-ṭ-ot*	*paḍ-Ø-ot-a*
aṛ- 'to cry'	2 pl.	*aṛ-n-or*	*aṛ-Ø-or-a*
er- 'to become'	3n. sg.	*e-ñ-oto-* (S. *e-ñ-ata*)	*er-Ø-oy-a*
culp/cult- 'to rise'	1 sg.	*cul-t-en*	*cul-p-Ø-en-a*

The zero past marker has been extended to all verbs in this construction. The formation of the remaining two negative paradigms on the verb, base or the *p-* ending stem might have fecilitated this development. It is doubtful whether in pre-Parji this construction consisted of the actual affirmative preterite forms (with overt past markers) followed by *a*.

The negative suffixes in the various languages are traceable to * *ā*-(*-*vā*- in Proto Goṇḍi-Kuvi) and the past suffixes to *-*tt*- and thus there is close agreement among the languages in the matter of the formation of this construction. Since it occurs in a large number of the Central Dravidian languages, it seems possible to reconstruct it to Proto-Central Dravidian. If it belongs to the Proto-Central Dravidian period, Telugu, Goṇḍi, Parji and Gadba must have lost it (in the Proto-Parji-Gadba period, it has been replaced by some other type of past negative morphological construction). It cannot be attributed to Proto-Dravidian since no language in either the South or the North Dravidian group contains a parallel construction. The Brahui past negative constructions contain the negative forms of the substantive verb and are therefore clearly periphrastic; they have nothing to do with the morphological past negative construction of the above Central Dravidian languages.

4.27. Negative Adverb

In Old Tamil it is formed by adding the negative marker -*ā* to the base. There are reasons to believe that in Proto-Dravidian also, as in Old Tamil, the negative adverb consisted of the base plus the negative suffix *ā*.

In the South Dravidian group a dental (plus the enunciative vowel) follows the *ā*. It is (B)*nt*/(C)*nd* in Tuḷu and is reconstructable as **t* in the rest of the languages of the group. This dental is most probably the past suffix. Since the negative adverb usually refers to actions that have not been done in the past, the past suffix has been tacked

on to it in South Dravidian. The occurrence of the affirmative past adverb with the dental past suffix and the negative adverb in a sequence might have fecilitated this change. The Old Tamil forms without the dental represent the stage prior to this innovation.

The negative adverb in the Central languages, Telugu (with the suffix *-aka*), Goṇḍi (*-vāk*), Kui (*-arange* or *-araa*), Kuvi (*-ˀaki*), Parji (*-aka*), Gadba (*-aka*) contains the reflexes of the **ā* suffix followed by *k*. This *k* may also be a past suffix in origin; for the occurrence of the **k* past suffix in Dravidian, see § 2.28.

South Dravidian and Central Dravidian agree with each other only in the matter of the initial vowel of the suffix, i.e. **ā;* the consnnants that follow it are different in the two groups. This also indicates that in Proto-Dravidian this form contained only base plus **ā*. The Parji periphrastic construction to express negation in the past consists of the verb base plus the negative *a* followed by the imperfect forms of *men-* 'to be', e.g. ole *cen-a mẽdid.* 'He did not go home.' The form with the *-a* negative suffix is most probably the negative adverb of an earlier stage preserved only in this construction; it cannot be the negative adjective since an adjective is never followed by a verb.

Another suffix in Tamil, is *āmal*. The *ā* in it is the negative suffix and the *mal* is probably a negative verb base in origin. It is preserved by Tamil only in this suffix but in Kuṛux and Malto the negative verb base *mal* 'to be not' (*DED* 3883) is in regular use.

The suffix *-sel* of the Kolami negative adverb is peculiar. No other Dravidian language makes use of a suffix that is relatable to it. It is highly probable that it is the negative verb **cil-* (*DED* 2106) in origin. In Koalmi (and also Naiki) *tōt-* (<**tōṯṯ-*, *DED* 2942) has replaced **cil-* as the negative verb and the latter has been reduced in it to the status of the negative adverbial suffix.

The modern Telugu suffix *-akuṇḍā* contains earlier *-aka* plus the infinitive of *uṇḍu* 'to be'. Koya *-akuṇṭa* and Konḍa *-ʔeṇḍa* seem to be loans from Telugu with later developments.

4.28. **Negative Adjective**

In Proto-Dravidian the negative adjective also, like the negative adverb, consists of the base plus the negative marker **ā*. This form is preserved as such by Old Tamil, Old Malayalam, Kota of South Dravidian and Gonḍi, Kuvi, Kolami, Naiki, Parji and Gadba of Central Dravidian.

In Proto-South Dravidian this form also has been extended by the dental suffix and then the adjective marker is annexed to it. The dental suffix is **t* in Tamil and Kota **tt* in Malayalam and Koḍagu, and **nt*(>(B) *nt*/(C) *nd*) in Tuḷu. The addition of the dental past suffix in this form seems to be analogical to that in the negative adverb since the former can refer to negation in the past as well as in the non-past.

In the Telugu negative adjective suffix *-ani*, originaliy *a* is the negative suffix, *-n-* the past suffix and *-i* is the

adjective suffix. That *-n-* in this is originally the past suffix is clear from the fact that it occurs also in the past adjective suffix *-ina* (*in* in this is a complex of two past suffixes **i* and **n*).

In Malayalam the past negative adjective with *-ā-ññ-a* < *āy-nt-a* is a new development ; in Kota also *-āy-* occurs as a negative suffix. The *y* in this seems to be a glide in origin ; cf. Tuḷu *-ay-*.

Pengo, Kui and Kuvi contain a past negative adjective (with the past suffix occurring between the negative and the adjective suffixes) in addition to the usual (non-past) negative adjective. It is a shared innovation created on the model of the past negative morphological construction in this group of languages. Although the non-past negative adjective of Kui with *-ʔa-n-i* closely resembles the negative adjective of Telugu with the suffix *-ani*, the *n* in the former is a non-past suffix while the *n* in the latter is a past suffix in origin.

Of the two variants of the adjective suffix **a* and **i* the latter is preserved by Tuḷu, Telugu (only in the negative adjective) and Koṇḍa-Pengo-Manḍa-Kui-Kuvi. Originally they may be dialectal variants in Proto-Dravidian.

4.29. Negative Verbal Noun

Old Tamil and Old Telugu contain negative verbal nouns with the structure : Base - Negative (Ta. *ā*, Te, *a*)-Nominal suffix (Ta. *mai*, Te. *mi*). As a nominalising suffix *-mai* occurs in Old Tamil both in the affirmative and the negative, e.g. *poṟu-mai* 'tolerance' *poṟ-ā-mai* 'jealousy'. But in Telugu *-mi* is restricted only to the negative verbal noun. This

construction probably goes back to the Proto-Dravidian stage. Kuvi also contains a negative verbal noun with the suffix *-ʔatayi*.

4.30. Negative Verb Bases

The reflexes of PDr. **cil-* 'to be not' (Ta. Ma. Ko. To. Kod. Ka. *il-*, Tu. *ijj-*, Te. *lē-*, Go. *sill-*, *hill-*, *ill-*, Pe. *hil-*, Manḍ. *lā-*, Kui. *siḍ-*, Kuvi *hill-*, Pa. *cil-*. *DED* 2106) are used in many languages of the South and the Central subgroups. In many of the languages they are inflected with the addition of the negative suffix and the personal endings. In Telugu the construction with the infinitive of a verb followed by the inflected forms of *lē-* means "(subject) cannot VERB."

Another negative verb PDr. **al-*(*DED* 198) means "to be not so and so". This verb is inflected only in Old Tamil and Brahui (in the latter *all-* is the base of past negative tenses of *ann-* 'to be'). In Malayalam (*alla* 'is not that, not thus', *allāte* 'else, otherwise, except', *allāykil* 'if not'), Ko. (*alā* 'to be not so-and-so', *alād* 'which is not so-and-so, bad; except, besides, not only but also; *alāvōr* 'bad men', *alātmēl* 'if / since it is not so'), Kannaḍa (*alla*, also 3 sg. neut. *alladu*, *altu*, 'to be not-so-and-so, be not fit or proper'), Koḍagu (*alla* 'to be not so-and-so', *allate* 'not only but also') mainly the form *alla* from it is used. It is completely lost in the rest of the languages.

Kuṛux and Malto employ the inflected forms of the verb *mal-* 'to be not' (*DED* 3883) as the negative verb. It has

already been suggested that the *mal* in the Tamil negative adverbial suffix *-āmal* may be related to Kuṛux-Malto *mal-*. Kuḍux, in addition, contains *bal-* 'to know' and *pol-* to be able' which are conjugated only in the negative.

In Telugu the negative forms of the verb *agu* (with the special allomorph *kā* before the negative and other suffixes beginning with *a; a* is replaced by zero after *kā-*)' 'to be, become' (*DED* 282) are employed to mean 'not so-and-so'. The 3rd non-masc. sg. form *kādu* 'it is not' from it is used colloquially in agreement with subjects of all persons and numbers, i.e. it is in free variation with the regular forms *kā-nu* 'I am not', *kā-mu* 'we are not', *kā-vu* 'you (sg) are not', *kā-ru* 'you (pl.) are not', *kā-ḍu* 'he is not', *kā-ru* 'they (hum.) are not', and *kā-vu* 'they (neut.) are not'.

Gonḍi also employs the negative forms of *ā-* 'to be not' (*DED* 282) to express the meaning 'not so-and-so' like Telugu e g. *āyō* 'it is not so-and-so'.

In Pengo the negative particle *akay* means 'is not so'. It and the negative verb *kā-* 'to be willing' in this language are also from PDr. **āku* 'to be, become' (*DED* 282), e.g. *gṛokaṅ ēzuṅ unḍeṅ kauṅ* 'I refuse to drink muddy water'.

In Konda *ke-* 'to agree' (<**āku* (*DED* 282)) and *aṭ-* 'to be able to' occur only with the negative markers.

In Kolami and Naiki the negative verb is *tōt-* 'to be not' (<**tōṯṯ-* 'to show'; *DED* 2942) and it is inflected only in the negative.

4.31. Conclusion

1. There are two types in the formation of the negative finite verbs in Dravidian. In the Tamil-Kannaḍa group of South Dravidian the negative suffix is *$\bar{a}$ before 3rd neut. sg. and pl. suffixes and it is zero before the other suffixes (type I). In Tuḷu, Central Dravidian and Brahui the suffix *a* (<*$\bar{a}$) occurs before all personal suffixes (type II). It is more likely that type II represents the situation in Proto-Dravidian.

2. A morphological construction to express the past negative exists in the majority of the Central languages. It seems to have been created in Proto-Central Dravidian.

3. In Proto-Dravidian the form with base plus the negative suffix *$\bar{a}$ functioned both as the negative adverb and adjective. In the South Dravidian subgroup the negative adverb (and on the analogy of it, the negative adjective) was extended by the dental past suffix since it frequently refers to negation in the past. Tuḷu shares this innovation with the other Southern languages.

4. The negative suffix in the Gonḍi-Kuvi group is reconstructable as *-*vā*-.

5. The *k* in the negative adverbs of Telugu, Gondi, Kui, Kuvi, Parji and Gadba like its counterpart *t* in South Dravidian may be a past suffix in origin.

5.

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

5.0. Introduction

It is a well established fact that in Dravidian the pronominal suffixes of verbs show close similarity to the corresponding personal or demonstrative pronouns. Because of this fact, some scholars beginning with Caldwell (1956:481, 86) have held that the Dravidian verb was originally devoid of the pronominal suffixes (as in Malayalam) and that the pronouns were later added to it for the sake of clarity. Those pronouns, according to them, were in course of time contracted into the present-day suffixes due to "frequency of use and rapidity of enunciation" and their accentless position. Even though there is close resemblance between the pronominal suffixes and the corresponding pronouns, it is not necessary to assume a stage at which the fuller pronominal forms were present in the end of verbs. Such a hypothesis will lead us to assume some changes like contractions and loss of the initial consonants of the pronouns for which there is no direct proof. Instead, we may suppose that even from the earliest period finite verbs possessed at the end a suffix resembling

the pronoun (expressed or understood) with which the verb stands in agreement in a sentence. Considering the comparative and the available historical evidence, Caldwell (1956:486), the first propounder of the above mentioned view himself concludes: "The period when the Dravidian verb was uninflected must have been long prior to the separation of the present tongue (i. e., Proto-Dravidian) into dialects, in all which, even in the rudest, a system of inflexions has been developed."

In the following paragraphs it will be demonstrated that pronominal suffixes are uniformly distributed in almost all the Dravidian languages and that therefore the reconstruction of their shapes for the Proto-Dravidian stage is comparatively easier.

5.1. Pronominal Suffixes in the Various Languages

Language	1 sg.	1 pl. (excl.)	1 pl. (incl.)	2 sg.	2 pl.
Tamil	*en̲, ēn̲, an, al*	*em, ēm, am, ām, ōm, um*		*i, ay, āy*	*ir, īr(kaḷ)*
Old Malayalam	*ēn, an*	*ōm*		*āy, ā*	*īr*
Kota	*ē(n)*	*ēm*	*ō(m)*	*ī*	*īm, īr*
Toda	*en, in, n*	*em, im, m*	*um*	*y, i*	*ts, sibilant*
Koḍagu	*ë, i*	*a*		*iya*	*ira*
Kannaḍa	*enu, eṃ, e*	*eṃ, evu*		Anc. *ay, e, i*	*ir, iri*
Tuḷu	*ɛ*	*a*		*a*	*arɨ*
Telugu	*ni, nu*	*mu, mi*	Hab. *amu*	*(vu), (vi)*	*ru, ri*
Gonḍi	*ōn, ūn, n, ā*	*ōm, ūm, m*	*āṭ*	*ī*	*īṭ*
Konḍa	*a*	*ap*	*aṭ*	*i ~ id[-V*	*inder, ider*

Language	1 sg.	1 pl. (excl.)	1 pl. (incl.)	2 sg.	2 pl.
Pengo	*aṅ*	*ap*	*as*	*ay*	*ader*, (rarely) *ider*
Kui	*i*, *e*, *enu*	*amu*	*asu*	*i*	*eru*
Kuvi	*ī*, *ĕ*, (*ni*)	*omi*/ (P.) *ami*	*o*, *ohi*	*i*	*eri*
Kolami	*un*, *an*, *n*	*um*, *am*, *m*	*am*	*iv*, *v*	*ir*, *r*
Naiki (Ch.)	*un*, *an*, *n*	*um*, *am*, *m*		*i*	*ir*
Parji	*en*/*on*, *an*	*om*, *am*, *um*	Imp. *ar* Pot. *umur*	*ot*, *at*, *ut*	*or*, *ar*, *ur*
Gadba	*en*, *on*, *an*	*om*, *am*, *em*		*eṭ*, *oṭ*, *aṭ*	*er*, *or*, *ar*
Kurukh	*n*	*m*	*at*, *t*	*ay*, *y*, f. *ai* n. *ī*	*ar*, *r*, f. *ai* n. *ī*
Malto	*in*, *en*, *on*	*im*, *em*, *om*	*it*, *et*, *ot*	m. *ne*, *e*, *ene*, *o* . & n. *ni*, *i*, *eni*	*er*, *or*
Brahui	*iv*, *ēv*, *v*, *r*	*in*, *n*		*is*, *ēs*, *s*	*ire*, *ēre*, *re*

<table>
<tr><th>Language</th><th>3 m. sg.</th><th>3 f. sg.</th><th>3 n. sg.</th><th>3 High pl.</th><th>3 Low pl.</th></tr>
<tr><td>Tamil</td><td>an, ā<u>n</u></td><td>aḷ, āḷ</td><td>(a)tu</td><td>ar, ār(kaḷ),
a</td><td>a</td></tr>
<tr><td>Old Malayalam</td><td>ān</td><td>āḷ</td><td>atu</td><td>ār</td><td>a, ava, ana</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kota</td><td>ān</td><td>āḷ</td><td>d</td><td>ār</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Toda</td><td colspan="5">t, u, č, k</td></tr>
<tr><td>Koḍagu</td><td colspan="5">a, ëtī</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kannaḍa</td><td>anu, aṃ,
oṃ, a</td><td>aḷ(u), āḷ,
oḷ</td><td>udu, itu
du, tu</td><td>ar(u), ār,
or</td><td>uvu, avu</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tulu</td><td>e</td><td>aḷu/
alɨ</td><td>i, u
ṇḍu, ndu</td><td>eru</td><td>a</td></tr>
<tr><td>Telugu</td><td>ṇḍu, nu</td><td colspan="2">di, du, nu</td><td>ru, ri</td><td>vu, vi, nu</td></tr>
<tr><td>Goṇḍi</td><td>ōl, ūl, l /
ōr, ūr, r</td><td colspan="2">ā, ū, ∅</td><td>ōṟ, uṟ, ṟ /
ēr, īr, ūr, r</td><td>āṅ, ūṅ, ṅ</td></tr>
<tr><td>Koṇḍa</td><td>an ~ an<u>r</u></td><td colspan="2">at/ad</td><td>ar</td><td>e</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th>Language</th><th>3m. sg.</th><th>3 f. sg.</th><th>3 n. sg.</th><th>3 High Pl.</th><th>3 Low Pl.</th></tr>
<tr><td>Pengo</td><td>an</td><td colspan="2">at</td><td>ar</td><td>f. ik n. iṅ</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kui</td><td>enju</td><td colspan="2">e</td><td>eru</td><td>u, o</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kuvi</td><td>esi</td><td colspan="2">e</td><td>eri</td><td>u</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kolami</td><td>an, en, n
Dial. nd</td><td colspan="2">a(d), (d), un, in</td><td>ar, er,</td><td>av, ev</td></tr>
<tr><td>Naiki (Ch.)</td><td>en, an, n</td><td colspan="2">d, un, an</td><td>ar, er, r</td><td>e, a</td></tr>
<tr><td>Parji</td><td>ed/od, ad, id</td><td colspan="2">o, a, u</td><td>er/or, ar, ir</td><td>ov, av, uv</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gadba</td><td>eṇḍ, oṇḍ, aṇḍ</td><td colspan="2">e, a</td><td>er, or, ar</td><td>ev, av</td></tr>
<tr><td>Kurukh</td><td>as, s</td><td colspan="2">ī
n. ī(d/t)</td><td>ar, r
f. ai</td><td>—</td></tr>
<tr><td>Malto</td><td>ah, ih, eh, oh</td><td colspan="2">ith, ath, eth, oth</td><td>er, ar, or</td><td>—</td></tr>
<tr><td>Brahui</td><td colspan="3">e, ik, ak</td><td colspan="2">ir, ēr, as, o</td></tr>
</table>

COMPARATIVE STUDY

5.2. Loss in Malayalam

Before proceeding to trace the history of the pronominal suffixes a peculiarity of Malayalam in this regard must be discussed. In the present-day Malayalam pronominal suffixes are absent so that there is no formal difference between a finite and a non-finite verb in this language (in spoken Malayalam, however, the past adverb if it ends in a consonant takes the enunciative vowel *ə* while the corresponding finite verb takes *u*, e.g., *vannə* 'having come' but *vannu* (subject) came' As we shall see below, in Old Tamil and Old Telugu too there are some finite verbs without the pronominal suffixes proper. On the basis of this, some scholars including Caldwell held that the parent speech was devoid of pronominal suffixes and that Malayalam is the only language which has faithfully retained the older state of affairs in this respect. But Ramaswami Aiyar (1936 : 52-62) rightly refutes this theory on the grounds of historical evidence in Malayalam as well as of the comparative evidence and establishes that the loss of pronominal suffixes is a very recent innovation in that language. The reasons adduced by him in support of this conclusion may be summarised as follows:

1. Malayalam as a separate language diverged from Tamil only from the early Middle Tamil stage (round about the 10th century) and prior to that period it was only a dialect of Tamil. Even if Proto-Dravidian contained no pronominal suffixes, Malayalam cannot be the representative of that proto-stage since before the 10th century it was only a dialect of Tamil.

2. There is evidence in the literary records to show that there is a gradualness in the dropping of personal suffixes from period to period. "Though personal endings for tense-forms were common in the Old Mal. texts, there do exist instances in these texts of finites without personal terminations. This absence of terminations gradually affects more and more categories of finites with the passing of time. There is a gradualness in the dropping of personal endings from period to period. As will be seen below, all the types for which personal endings are envisaged by *Līl(ātilakam)* do not have these endings in *K(riṣṇa) G(āthā)*, and not all the types of *K(riṣṇa) G(āthā)* showing personal endings are represented in *El̤(uttaśśan)*. This gradualness may have been purely literary; but it is quite possible that it may have mirrored, though chronologically at belated stages, a gradually increasing tendency in the regional and communal colloquials to drop these personal endings." (*ibid*, p.53)

3. *Līlātilakam*, a 14th century Malayalam grammar, quotes verbs with personal endings like *vantān* 'he came', *iruntān* 'he was' as low caste dialectal forms. This fact indicates that personal suffixes at this period had not completely disappeared from all communal dialects.

4. Aminidiv Malayalam, a dialect spoken by the Moplahs of the Aminidīv and Lakkadīv islands shows even today some personal endings. This dialect is evidently not affected by the innovation of losing the personal suffixes.

5. All Dravidian languages other than Malayalam are consistent in showing personal suffixes and therefore the

weight of evidence is in favour of reconstructing them for Proto-Dravidian.

As regards the inscriptional evidence, A. C. Sekhar (1953 : 105) notes: "The frequency of occurrence of this phenomenon (i.e., the loss of personal suffixes in verbs) gradually increases with the passing of time." All this evidence leads us to the conclusion that the loss of personal suffixes is a comparatively recent innovation in Malayalam and that this feature of it in no way represents the Proto-Dravidian situation.

5.3. **1st Singular** **-Vn.*

It is represented in all the languages excepting Brahui. As suggested by Jules Bloch (1954 : 53) the suffix *-iv, -ēv, -v* in Brahui may be of Aryan origin. Tuḷu *ɛ* < **eṉ* is regular. In Koṇḍa, Kui (in the affirmative paradigms) and in Kuvi the final *n* is lost in this suffix. In Kuvi it is represented by the nasalization of the preceding vowel.

In modern Telugu and modern Kannaḍa (dialectally) and in Kota (certain paradigms) the *n* is dropped.

In Pengo the 1st person sg. pronoun is *ān/ānen̈;* the *n̈* in the corresponding personal suffix may be analogical to the latter variant. However, the *en̈* in the pronoun cannot be explained at present.

The vowel in this and the exclusive plural suffix must be *ē* originally as evidenced by the South Dravidian languages (also note that oblique bases of the 1st person pronouns, i.e., *en-* and *em-* contain the *e* vowel in South Dravidian and

North Dravidian). In Old Tamil only the suffix with a short vowel occurs after the cāriyai *-an̲-* in the past tense forms. The variant with the long vowel is common in the future tense but there are instances for forms with the short vowel also, e.g., *nir̲u-pp-en̲* (*KT*, 29) 'I will place'. In *Caṅkam* texts forms with *-an̲* also occur: *ar̲i-kuv-an̲* 'I know', *va-nt-an̲-an̲* 'I came', etc. The variant *-al* occurs only after the future tense suffix only in Old Tamil, e.g., *varu-v-al* 'I will come', *vēṇṭu-v-al* 'I will request.' In most of the languages the vowels of the pronominal suffixes underwent haphazard changes because of their accentless position.

5.4. 1st Plural (exclusive) *-V*m*.

Its reflexes are present in all languages. In Tuḷu the loss of final *m* is a regular development. In Brahui the 1st person pl. pronoun *nan* 'we' (<**nām*, 'we (incl.)' *DED* 3019) and the corresponding personal suffix contain *n* instead of the expected *m* (note that in Brahui *num* 'you (pl.)' <**nīm* 'you (pl.)'; *DED* 3055 **m* remains as *m*). The replacement of *m* by *n* in the 1st person pl. pronoun seems to be the result of analogy with the oblique base of the 1st person sg. pronoun *kan-* <**en-(akk)* ending in *n* (see Subrahmanyam 1968 : 208). After the pronoun was affected by this change, the corresponding pronominal suffix also might have changed the original *m* to *n*.

As has been suggested in the above paragraph, the vowel in this is originally *ē*.

5.5. **1st Plural (inclusive)**

For this, a suffix different from that of the exclusive plural occurs only in the following languages: Kota, Toda, Telugu, Goṇḍi, Koṇḍa, Pengo, Kui, Kuvi, Parji, Kurux and and Malto. In Telugu the inclusive plural suffix occurs only in the future tense. Similarly in Parji the inclusive plural suffix occurs only in two paradigms, i.e., imperative and potential and even in these the exclusive—inclusive distinction is not very strictly observed (according to Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953:57). Even though this category is found in some of the languages of all three major subgroups of Dravidian. the suffixes resemble the corresponding inclusive plural pronoun in the individual subgroups and therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the original form of the suff . However, in Kota-Toda of South Dravidian and Telugu of Central Dravidian, the suffixes resemble one another. Moreover, according to Iḷampūraṉar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar, Commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* (*Collatikāram*, sutra 202) the suffixes *-am* and *-ām* are used inclusively and *-em* and *-ēm* exclusively in Old Tamil (see Subrahmanya Sastri 1945:168). This exactly corresponds to the usage in Old Telugu in which *-amu* is used inclusively and *-umu* exclusively (in the future tense). On the basis of this evidence we may reconstruct the inclusive suffix as **-ām/*-am* to Proto-Dravidian. The change of the vowel quality in the suffixes of Kota and Toda may be due to assimilation to the following bilabial nasal.

It is interesting to note here the manner in which the distinction between the inclusive and the exclusive meanings

is maintained in colloquial Telugu. Whereas in Old Telugu the difference lies in the vowel of the pronominal suffixes, e. g., *mēmu cēyu-d-umu* 'we (excl.) will do' and *manamu cēyu-d-amu* 'we (incl.) shall do', modern Telugu uses for this purpose two different tense suffixes while the pronominal suffix remains the same, i.e., *-t-* (with an allomorph *-ṭ-* after verbs of the type (C)V*n*-) in the exclusive form and *-d-* in the inclusive form, e. g., *mēm cēs-t-ām* 'we (excl.) will do' and *manam cēd-d-ām* 'we (incl.) shall do'.

Gonḍi and Konḍa agree with each other in having the suffix as **-aṭ;* it resembles the end part of the inclusive plural pronouns in those languages, Go. (Adilabad) *marāṭ*, (Maria) *māṭ*, and Konḍ *māṭ(u)*. While Go. *marāṭ* is analogical to *mirāṭ* (<**mir-āṭ*) 'you (pl.)' in that language, the Maria and the Konḍa forms are new creations involving the addition of the pl. suffix *-ṭ* to the 1st person exclusive pl. oblique base *mā-* (PDr. **yam-*).

Pengo, Kui and Kuvi contain suffixes the original form of which is reconstructable as **-as*. This resembles the inclusive pl. pronouns, Kui *āju* and Kuvi (F) *mārrō*, (S) *māro*. The original form of these may be **ār;* it is a new creation in this group made with *ā* of the 1st person base plus the 2nd person pl. suffix *r*.

In Kuṛux-Malto the suffix is reconstructable as **-(V)t*. It has no relatable suffixes in Dravidian and, more over, unlike the suffixes of Gonḍi-Konḍa and Pengo-Kui-Kuvi it does not even resemble the inclusive pl. pronoun *nām* in those languages.

In Parji the inclusive pl. suffix is *-ar* in the imperative paradigm and *-umur* in the potential. The corresponding pronoun in that language is *amor*; it seems to be made by adding the second person pl. suffix *-or* to the 1st person exclusive pl. pronoun *ām* (see Subrahmanyam 1968 : 207). The suffix also similarly consists of the 1st person exclusive suffix *-a-/-um-* and the 2nd person pl. suffix *-r/-ur*.

This diversity in the shape of the inclusive pl. suffix in the various subgroups and its absence in a number of languages may be due to the fact that the exclusive—inclusive distinction, though present in Proto-Dravidian itself is not well-established in the whole of Dravidian. It is more than probable that the exclusive—inclusive distinction was originally present in the pronouns and that it was introduced into the verb forms in the various subgroups at later stages.[1]

5.6. 2nd Singular **-āy, *-i*

The reflexes of this suffix are found to occur in all the languages excepting Telugu, Kolami, Parji, Gadba and Brahui. Parji and Gadba together stand appart from the other languages in having *t* and *ṭ* respectively in this suffix;

1. Note that Sten Konow (1906 : 293-4) proposed the theory that the exclusive—inclusive distinction in the 1st person pl. pronoun in Dravidian is due to Kolarian influence. Burrow (1968 : 115-117), however, argues that since both the exclusive pronoun **yām* (*DED* 4231) and the inclusive pronoun **nām* (*DED* 3019) can be traced back to Proto–Dravidian, it is only possible the the Kolarian influence "was exercised very early on Dravidian, before the splitting up into various languages".

the origin of these is not clear at present. The Brahui suffix is explained by Jules Bloch (1954 : 53) as due to Indo-Aryan influence.

In Old Telugu the suffix *-vu*, *-vi* is optional (in the past and the future tenses). In Telugu the original 2nd person pronoun *nī* became *nīvu* by adding *vu* since in that language monosyllabic words ending in a vowel are not tolerated (similarly also *pū* > *pūvu* 'flower', *ā* > *āvu* 'cow'). The pronominal suffix was created on the basis of the pronoun after it underwent this change. The optional nature of the suffix, e.g., *vacciti*/*vaccitivi* 'you (sg.) came', *vattu*/*vattuvu* 'you (sg.) will come' indicates that *vu* was not originally part of the pronoun or the corresponding suffix. Kolami-Naiki *nīv* 'you (sg.) is a borrowing from Telugu (note that its oblique base *in*– these languages is original and not a borrowing, *DED* 3051). In Kolami (but not in Naiki) the pronominal suffix contains the *v* which is evidently due to the influence of the pronoun *nīv*. Naiki retains the original *i* without change.

In Old Tamil *-i* occurs only after the future auffix *-tt-* (∞ *-t-*), *-āy* and its variant with a short vowel *-ai* occur after other tense suffixes.

In most of the Central Dravidian languages *-i* occurs but the reflexes of *-*āy* do not occur in any language of this subgroup (except Pengo).

5.7. **2nd Plural** **-ir.*

The reflexes of this suffix occur most regularly in all the languages, the only exception being Gondi. The Gondi suffix *-iṭ* is an innovation in that language on the basis of its 2nd person pl. pronoun *nimmēṭ/immaṭ* which is made by adding a new pl. suffix *-ēṭ/-aṭ* to original **nīm* 'you (pl.)' (*DED* 2955). The Koya dialect of Gondi contains *-īri* as the 2nd person plural suffix; it is the regular reflex of the Proto-Dravidian suffix. The sibilant in the Toda suffix is a regular correspondence for *r* in PDr. **-īr* (see Emeneau 1957 : 59).

The 2nd person pl. pronoun has to be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian as having two variants **nīm*, **nīr* (oblique base **nim-*, *DED* 3055, see Subrahmanyam 1968, §§22-26). **nīm* is preserved in all the Southern languages except Tuḷu,[2] in the three Northern languages and in Gonḍi, Pengo, Kuvi and Parji-Gadba of the Central group. The reflexes of **nīr* are preserved in the following languages: Tamil, Tuḷu (of SDr.), Telugu, Gonḍi, Konḍa, Kui, Kuvi and Kolami-Naiki (of CDr.; it is likely that Proto-Kolami-Naiki borrowed *īr* from Old Telugu and later changed it to *nīr* on the analogy of the 2nd sg. form *nīv* with initial *n*). Although both the reconstructions are Proto-Dravidian since they are represented in more than one subgroup, the first one in three and the

2. Koḍagu *niṅga* 'you (pl.)' is derived from earlier **nīm-kaḷ*, which must be the oblique base of **nīm-kaḷ*, cf. Ta. *niṅ-kaḷ* (colloquial *niṅke*).

second one in two there are two reasons to assume that *nīm is earlier than *nīr. One is that in the personal and the reflexive pronouns in Dravidian, *n* is the marker for the sg. and *m* for the pl. Therefore in this pronoun also *m* may be the original. The second reason is that in the oblique base of this pronoun all the languages without any exception contain *m* and *r* does not occur in this form in any language. This strongly suggests that the corresponding absolute form must also be containing the *m* suffix originally. Therefore we can explain *nīr as the result of analogical extension of the more common plural suffix *r* (which occurs in human nouns and the 3rd person hum. pl. pronouns and pronominal suffix) to the second person. However, it is remarkable that the 2nd person pl. personal suffix in all the languages (excepting Kota) contains *r* but not *m* and thereby corresponds to *nīr.[3] The distinction between the 2nd person pl. and the 3rd person human pl. suffixes is denoted by different vowels, i.e., *i* for

3. The occurrence of *r* in the 2nd person plural suffix in almost all the languages including Kuṛux-Malto and Brahui (in which *nīr is not represented) establishes beyond doubt that the variant *nīr of the corresponding pronoun belongs to the Proto-Dravidian stage. Therefore one cannot agree with Krishnamurti's view (1968 : 204–5). He considers the replacement of plural -*m* by -*r* in this form in some languages of both the South and the Central Dravidian sub-groups as "an areal feature, and not a feature ascribable to Proto-Dravidian" since "the languages involved are geographically but not genetically contiguous" and since "Kuṛux and Malto do not show this morph replacement".

the 2nd person and *a* for the 3rd person. In Telugu, Kui and Kuvi, however, the distinction is obliterated. However, in the past tense of Old Telugu the distinction is maintained by using two different allomorphs of the tense morpheme, e.g., *mīru vacc-iti-ri* 'you (pl.) came' *versus vāru vacc-i-rt* 'they (hum.) came', contrast modern Telugu *mīru occ-ɛ̄-ru versus vāḷḷu occ-ɛ̄-ru*, where there is no difference in the verb. Even in Old Telugu there is no morphological distinction between the two forms in the future tense, e.g., *mīru* 'you (pl.)' or *vāru* 'they (hum.)' *cēyu-du-ru*/(colloq.) *cēs-tā-ru* 'will do'.

In the Goṇḍi pronoun *immaṭ/nimeṭ/mtrāṭ* 'you (pl.)' a new plural suffix -(*a*)*ṭ* has been added to the original form and consequently the personal suffix *-*īr* has been replaced by -*īṭ* with *ṭ*.

Kota is the only language in which -*īm* occurs as the 2nd person plural suffix, *īr* in it occurs only in the participial nouns but not in finite verbs. Colloquial Tamil joins with Kota in showing -*iṅke* which must be from *-*īmkaḷ* as the 2nd person pl. suffix (e.g., *va-nt-iṅke* 'you (pl.) came' < **va-nt-īmkaḷ* which differs from the Old Tamil form *va-nt-īr(kaḷ)*). It is doubtful whether on the basis of this evidence we can set up a hypothesis that in pre-Dravidian, that is, before the analogical creation of **nīr*, verb forms were having *-*īm* alone as the 2nd person pl. suffix in conformity with the older pronoun **nīm* and that in Proto-Dravidian this was replaced by *-*īr* in accordance with the newly created variant of the pronoun **nīr*. It is also possible that in

colloquial Tamil and Kota earlier *-*īr* is replaced by -*īm* because of the corresponding pronoun with *m*, i.e., Ta. *nīṅkaḷ* and Kota *nīm*.

5.8. Gender Distinction

It is only in the 3rd person pronouns and pronominal suffixes that gender distinction is observed in Dravidian. However, Toda and Brahui have independently lost the gender distinction although Brahui but not Toda retains the number distinction. In Brahui the verb form with the suffix that originally denoted human pl. is extended to non-human plural also due to the loss of gender.

The gender systems in the languages other than Toda and Brahui fall into three types as follows.

Type I (South Dravidian languages except Toda):

Masculine sg.	Human pl.
Feminine sg.	
Neuter sg.	(Neuter pl.)

Type II (Telugu, Kuṛux-Malto):

Masculine sg.	Human pl.
Non-masculine sg.	(Non-human pl. only in Telugu)

Type III (Central Dravidian languages other than Telugu):

Masculine sg.	Masculine pl.
Non-masculine sg.	Non-masculine pl.

As proposed by Emeneau (1955, § 10.17), type II represents the gender system in Proto-Dravidian since it alone is represented by languages belonging to more than one subgroup and is skew. The feminine sg. category of type I is an innovation and its suffix *-āḷ* is in origin the word *āḷ* 'woman' (*DED* 342, see Krishnamurti 1961, §§ 4.30-33). The Central languages other than Telugu combined the feminine category with the neuter in the plural also on the analogy of the gender distinction in the singular. The non-human plural marker is an optional category in both the Southern and the Northern subgroups and therefore also in Proto-Dravidian. Therefore type II without the non-human plural category may be assumed to be the gender system in Proto-Dravidian.

However, a consideration of the following points will be useful for reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian gender distinction in finite verbs. (i) In Old Tamil the future tense form with the suffix *-(kk)um* takes all third person subjects except human pl. and has no personal suffix. Similarly in Old Telugu the past tense form with *-en(u)* and the future tense form with *-un(u)* take all third person subjects except human pl. This coincidence between Old Tamil and Old Telugu must be due to common retention. (ii) But for the epicene pl. no other 3rd person suffix can be uniformly reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian (see below). (iii) Number distinction in the neuter category is optional or entirely absent in the Southern and the Northern groups and therefore also in Proto-Dravidian.

All this evidence leads us to conclude that in early Proto-Dravidian or at least in the pre-Dravidian stage there were only two finite verb forms, one for the human pl. with the pronominal suffix and the other for the other third person categories without any pronominal suffix. However, in the Proto-Dravidian stage itself separate forms with proper personal suffixes were created for the masculine sg. and the non-masculine sg. – neuter pl. The feminine category has been separated from the neuter only in Proto-South Dravidian.

5.9. 3rd Masculine Singular **-ān*

The reflexes of it occur in South Dravidian (note that Tuḷu *e* < **-an̠*). The suffixes in the Central languages are traceable to PCDr. **-an̠r̠* and the corresponding pronouns to PCDr. **avan̠r̠*. The additional *r̠* (< **t*) in this has been explained by Emeneau (1955, § 10.15) as analogical to the non-masculine pronoun **at* ending in *t* but Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970 : 35–36) consider **avan̠r̠* as the proto-form and explain that its oblique base **avan̠* became the nominative form in SDr.

Kuṟux *-as* and Malto *-ah* resemble the corresponding pronouns, Kuṟux *ās* and Malto *-āh*. Similarly Gondi *-ōl/-ōr* resembles the corresponding pronoun *ōl/vōr* in that language.

On the whole, it seems that the 3rd masculine sg. suffixes in the various languages are the results of adjustments with the respective pronouns that had independently undergone subsequent changes in the individual languages or language groups.

5.10. 3rd Feminine Singular *-*āḷ* (~*-*aḷ*)

As has already been noted this is a shared innovation in the South Dravidian group; the suffix is the word *āḷ* 'woman' in origin.

5.11. 3rd Human Plural *-*ār*.

The reflexes of this suffix occur most regularly in all the languages including Brahui, the only exception being Toda which has drastically simplified its number and gender system.

In the Central Dravidian languages other than Telugu the reflexes of this suffix mean only masculine plural; the feminine plural in these languages is expressed by the original neuter pl. marker. On the basis of this, Jules Bloch (1954 : 7) and Krishnamurti (1961 : 256) thought that this represents the Proto-Dravidian situation thereby implying that the original meaning of this suffix was only masculine pl. but not human (i.e. masculine-cum-feminine) pl. They explained the human pl. meaning of this suffix in South Dravidian, Telugu and Kuṛux-Malto as a latter innovation arising out of a situation where mixed groups of men and women had to be expressed collectively. But what was the suffix to express mixed groups before this innovation ? A closer examination, however, of the syntactic usages of forms containing the reflexes of this suffix in the Central languages other than Telugu furnishes evidence that contradicts the above supposition Such forms in these languages are used also as epicene plurals when mixed groups of males and females are referred to A few examples from Parji, Kolami and Gondi follow.

Parji:

kūyed eroḍ ōr eke verrar ge.

(Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953:119)

'When he called they (i.e., his brothers and their wives) *came*.'

pokkod eroḍ kaṛcil evulin jama uyrar ge. (*Ibid* : 120)

'They (i.e., his brothers and their wives) all *brought* the wood and leaves.'

veñer eroḍ saraṅdev kōc laksey geṛet rāni anan kamac damac tindar. (*Ibid.* : 139)

'When they had returned, Saraṅdev Koc and the queen of Laksey city earned their living there and *ate*.'

Kolami:

ini iddarna maṅkter. (Emeneau 1955 : 166)

'And both of them (i.e., the washerman and his wife) *slept*.'

Gonḍi:

veṛīl veylō pūjā kisī mūnd rōjknē ātā pajjā kurvīt phorōṛā vērnī terisī sūṛlē lāktēr.

'The old man and the old woman, having worshipped, after the completion of three days, having taken out the lid on the pot, *were seeing*.'

mātārī mātrāl nāgōbāl sitā ad sōnē paysāṅ tinjēr tamvā jingānī kisēr mattēr.

'The old man and the old woman *were continuing* their family life spending (lit., eating) the gold and money that was given by Nāgōbāl.'

It is clear from the above instances that even in the Central languages other than Telugu the verb form with the reflexes of *-*ār* denotes epicene plural also as in the other languages. Therefore it is proper to assume that in Proto-Dravidian its significance was human plural In the Central languages other than Telugu it has been restricted to the masculine category (when mixed groups of men and women are not referred to) since the feminine category has been analogically merged with the non- human in the plural.

In Old Tamil the suffix has a free variant *a* after the future tense marker, e.g., *eṉ–p–a* 'they (hum.) say'.

5.12. 3rd Non-Masculine (Neuter) Singular *-(*V*)*t*

Its reflexes occur in all the South Dravidian languages, Telugu, Koṇḍa, Pengo, Kolami, Naiki and Kurux–Malto. In the rest of the languages the suffix is some vowel, most commonly *e* or *a*. *-(V)*t* resembles the non-masculine (neuter) pronouns **at*, etc.

5.13. 3rd Neuter Plural

In Old Tamil, Old Malayalam and Tuḷu the suffix is *-a*. In Old Tamil forms like *tōṉṟu–v–a* (*PN*, 4) 'they (neut.) will

appear', *tēy-nt-a* (*K*, 126) 'they (neut.) were worn out', *takai-pp-a* (*KT*, 3) 'they (neut.) will stop', *tuḷaṅk-iṉ-a* (*PN*, 62) 'they (neut.) shook', contain *-a* without the preceding *cāriyai* and in instances like *iḻa-nt-aṉ-a* (*PN*, 238) 'they (neut.) lost', *pōṉ-ṟ-aṉ-a* (*PN*, 4) 'they (neut.) resembled' it is preceded by the *cāriyai -aṉ-*. In later Tamil, however, it is always preceded by the *cāriyai*. It is not certain whether we can reconstruct **-a* to Proto-South Dravidian on the basis of this evidence.

On the other hand, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Kolami, Parji and Gadba contain a *v* in the suffix there by resembling the corresponding pronouns **av(ay)*, etc. It is clear that the suffix in these languages is created on the basis of the corresponding pronoun. The back vowels in Kui-Kuvi may also be from original **-av*.

In Gonḍi (*-āṅ*) and Pengo (*-iṅ*) the suffix corresponds not to any other neuter pl. suffix in any of the sister languages, but as observed by Jules Bloch (1954 : 51) to the nominative neuter pl. suffix of nouns that end in a vowel in the Gonḍi-Kuvi subgroup, e.g. Go. *kōndā-ṅ* 'oxen', *paddī-ṅ* 'pigs'; Pe. *huka-ṅ* 'stars'. This suffix in Gonḍi and Pengo probably illustrates the process of the creation of the various 3rd person pronominal suffixes (other than the human pl.) in the individual languages or language groups in later stages.

In Pengo forms with the suffix *-ik* are used with subjects indicating more than one female. In other Central languges (except Telugu) the feminine pl. is the same as the neuter pl. Therefore the distinction in Pengo must be an innovation.

The pl. suffix *–ik* originally belongs to female kinship terms in the languages of the Gondi-Kuvi group and Pengo used it to distinguish the feminine pl. from the neuter pl. in the verb.

In colloquial Tamil and Kuṛux–Malto the 3rd neuter sg. verb form functions as neuter pl. also. This is in accord with the fact that originally the neuter pl. category was an optional one. Probably this is responsible for the diversity in the matter of the suffix in the language groups which makes it impossible to reconstruct the suffix for Proto-Dravidian.

5.14. Conclusion

1. The loss of pronominal suffixes in Malayalam is gradual and therefore their absence in that language does not represent the original situation.

2. The inclusive pl. suffix as distinct from the exclusive occurs only in some of the languages; even in the languages in which it is present the suffixes in the different subgroups are not genetically related (except for **-ām* in Old Tamil, Kota-Toda and Telugu). This suggests that the inclusive pl. form in verbs is a later development in Dravidian.

3. The 2nd person pl suffix in almost all the languages contains *r* and is reconstructable for PDr. as **-ir*. The reconstructed suffix resembles **nīr* and this establishes beyond doubt that **nīr* also belongs to Proto-Dravidian.

4. Old Tamil and Old Telugu contain evidence to show that in Proto-Dravidian 3rd person suffixes, other than human pl. were absent. They have been added in the individual languages at later stages.

5. The human pl. category is reconstructable to Proto-Dravidian. In the Central languages other than Telugu its suffix has been restricted to masculine pl. due to a common innovation in the gender system in them.

6.

INFINITIVE SUFFIXES

6.0. Introduction

The category of infinitive in Dravidian has a simple morphological structure but syntactically it functions in a variety of ways.

DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

6.1. Tamil

The suffix is *-a;* in the "strong verbs" it is preceded by the formative *-pp-* in Old Tamil and *-kk-* in later Tamil. According to Ramaswami Aiyar (1938 : 769–70) *-pp-* is more common than *-kk-* in *Caṅkam* Tamil. "*-kk-a* is met with in a few instances in *Paripāṭal*, while in other texts, forms with *-kk-a* have a noun force." He further notes: "As participles, the instances in *śangam* texts signify only 'simultaneous action' or 'effect'; the idea of 'purpose' appears but rarely."

ceyy-a 'to do'

kāṇ-a 'to see'

koḷ-a 'to take'

maṟa-pp-a } 'to forget'
maṟa-kk-a }

kā-pp-a } 'to protect'
kā-kk-a }

niṟ-p-a } 'to stand'
niṟ-k-a }

Old Tamil has forms with the suffixes *-iya*, *-iyar* and *-mār* which are used as infintives denoting "purpose".

uṇ-īiya 'to eat or drink'

kāṇ-iya } 'to see'
kāṇ-iyar }

kāṭṭ-iya 'to show'

tar-īiya } to give'
tar-īiyar }

kāṇ-mār 'to see'

Forms with *-vāṉ* (∞ *-ppāṉ*) used as infinitives are not found in early *Caṅkam* texts but appear in later works.

kāṇ-pāṉ 'to see'

koḷ-vāṉ 'to take'

puri-vāṉ 'to understand'

In *Tirukkuraḷ* forms with *-pākku* appear as infinitives.

paṭu-pākku (164) 'to suffer'

eṉ-pākku (136) 'to say'

6.2. Malayalam

Infinitive forms with the suffix *-a* (preceded by *-kk-* in the case of "strong verbs") and those with *-vān* (∞ *-ppān* ~ *-mān*) were employed in Old Malayalam. In present-day Malayalam the infinitive suffix is *-ān* (after strong verbs it is preceded by *-kk-*); these are followed by verbs like *kaḻi* 'to be possible' and *paṟa* 'to tell', etc.

> *avan varān paṟaññu.*
>
> 'He was asked to come (by somebody).'
>
> *ceyyān kaḻiyuka illa.* 'It is not possible to do.'
>
> *koṭukkān kaḻiyum.* 'It is possible to give.'

In the modern language infinitives with *-e* (∞ *-kke*) < **-a* are retained only in proverbs, in constructions with auxiliaries or as adverbials or postpositions.

> *ellu muṟiye paṇitāl, pallu muṟiye tiṉṉām.*
>
> "If (one) works so as to break (one's) bones, (one) can eat so (much) as to break (one's) teeth."

irikke	'while being'
ēre/vaḷare	'too much, many'
aṭukke	'near, with'
kūṭe	'along with'

The forms with the suffix *-uka* are used as infinitives and also as polite 'imperatives'.

var-uka	'(Please) come!'
paṟay-uka	'(Please) tell !'
kēḷ-kk-uka	'(Please) ask/hear!'

6.3. Kota

The suffix is *–l* or *–lk* (< **al* (verbal noun suffix) + **-k* (dative)).

ān kōnāṭk ōg–l ārē(n) 'I cannot go to the plains.'
nōṛ-lk ilā. '(Subject) will not see.'
kāṛ uṛtlk paylā. 'The forest is not suitable for ploughing.'

6.6. Kannada

The suffixes are *–a*, *–al* (modern *–alu*) and *–e* (free variants). *–al* is optionally followed by the dative suffix *-ke* (modern *–ike* or *–ikke*). *–e* occurs only in the old inscriptions and literature and is out of use in modern Kannada (A. N. Narasimhaiya 1941 : 214).

gey(y)-a *gey(y)-al(ke)*	'to do'
tar-a *tar–al(ke)*	'to bring'
uṇ–a *uṇ-al(ke)* *uṇ–e*	'to eat or drink'
bar–a *bār–al* *bar–e*	'to come'

6.7. Tulu

The suffix is (B) *-arɛ* (free variants *-yara*, *-ɛrɛ*)/(C)*-erɛ* (Gowda dialect *-ara*).

maḷp-erɛ 'to make'
pōv-arɛ 'to go'

tinn-arɛ
tinn-ɛrɛ } 'to eat'
tin-yara

patt-arɛ 'to catch'

paṇṇ-arɛ } 'to say'
paṇiy-erɛ

6.8. Telugu

The suffix is *-an*.

cēy-an 'to do'
cepp-an 'to tell'
aḍug-an 'to ask'
nil(u)v-an 'to stand' (: *nil(u)cu*)

In colloquial Telugu the final *n* in this occur only before the clitics, *-ā* (interrogative), *-ē* (emphatic) and *-ū* (copula). It is dropped elsewhere and also optionally before *-ē* and the copula morpheme in the case of stems other than those of the CV type.

nēnu cepp-an-ā ? 'Shall I tell?'

cepp-an-ē } *lēdu* '(Subject) did not tell at all.'
cepp-(a)-ē

vāḍu rānū lēdu, ḍabbu ivv-an-ū/iyy-ā lēdu.
'He neither came nor gave the money.'

cepp-a kūḍadu. '(One) must not tell.'

The infinitive is widely used in Old Telugu but in the colloquial Telugu it is used only before the auxiliaries, and the adverbializer *-gā/-gānē*.

6.9. Gondi

The suffix is *-ā* with the free variant *-lē* (*-nēn* in some idiolects). *-ā* alone is used before the auxiliary verb *par-* 'to be able to'.

tind-ā
tind-lē
tind-nēn } 'to eat'

vāy-ā
vāy-lē
vāy-nēn } 'to come'

nannā veh-ā parāntōn 'I can tell'

6.10. Konda

The suffix is /*-deṅ* ∞ *-teṅ-* ~ *-ṟeṅ* ~ *-ḍeṅ*/. *-teṅ* occurs after (i) simple or complex stems ending in voiceless obstruents, and in *r* or *ṛ* preceded by a short vowel, and (ii) simple monosyllabic or disyllabic stems ending in one of the vowels *a, e, ē, o* and *ō* and also after four bases, two ending in *ū* and one in *i* and another one in *ī*; *-ṟeṅ* occurs after verbs ending in *n* or *l* (< **l*); *-ḍeṅ* occurs after verbs ending in *ṇ* or *l* (< **ḷ*). *-deṅ* occurs after the remaining verbs ; when it is added to verbs ending in *d* or *nd*, one *d* is lost automatically.

The infinitive in Koṇḍa functions also as a verbal noun and as a finite verb in the obligative mood.

-teṅ

(a) *nik-teṅ* 'to wake up'
ḍip-teṅ 'to cause to descend'
as-teṅ 'to hold'

veR-teṅ 'to tell'
ta-teṅ 'to bring'
o-teṅ 'to carry'
ale-teṅ 'to keep silent'
kere-teṅ 'to crow (as cock)'
ṟē-teṅ 'to open'
sō-teṅ 'to come out'
piri-teṅ 'to grow'
mī-teṅ 'to graze'
dū-teṅ 'to grow'
pū-teṅ 'to blossom'

-ṟeṅ

(b) *in-ṟeṅ* 'to say'
tin-ṟeṅ 'to eat'
nil-ṟeṅ → *nin-ṟeṅ* 'to stand'

-ḍeṅ

(c) *uṇ-ḍeṅ* 'to drink'
sūṇ-ḍeṅ 'to see'
kol-ḍeṅ → *koṇ-ḍeṅ* 'to buy'

-deṅ

(d) *sī-deṅ* 'to give'
ṟū-deṅ 'to plough'
iy-ba-deṅ 'to bathe'
ḍig-deṅ 'to get down'
koy-deṅ 'to cut'
ūd-deṅ → *ū-deṅ* 'to be wet'
vand-deṅ → *van-deṅ* 'to be tired'

6.11. Pengo

The suffix is /-*teṅ* ∞ -*deṅ*/-.

-*teṅ*

(a) *ta-teṅ* 'to bring'
jē-teṅ 'to open'
as-teṅ 'to seize' (: *ah-*)
rōs-teṅ 'to construct' (: *rōh-*)
kūk-teṅ 'to call'
pot-teṅ 'to bore'
hon-teṅ 'to run'
tūṇ-ten 'to slaughter'
nil-teṅ 'to stand'
kuc-ceṅ 'to sit'
muc-ceṅ 'to bury'

-*deṅ*

(b) *ā-deṅ* 'to be, become'
ki-deṅ 'to do'
vā-deṅ 'to come'
vīd-deṅ 'to sow' (: *vīt-*)
hōg-deṅ 'to wash (clothes)' (: *hōk-*)
aḍ-deṅ 'to be able'
tūb-deṅ 'to blow'
pez-deṅ 'to pick up'
huz-deṅ 'to roast'

tāṅ-deṅ 'to walk'

pom-deṅ 'to embrace'

uṇ-ḍeṅ 'to drink'

huṛ-deṅ 'to see'

kij-jeṅ 'to pinch' (: *kic-*)

nenj-deṅ → *nen-jeṅ* 'to fill'

in-jeṅ 'to say'

tin-jeṅ 'to eat'

ven-jeṅ 'to hear'

han-jeṅ 'to go' (: *hal-*)

"There is also an infinitival formation in *-u*, used only in repeated forms, expressing continuous action over a period which is subsidiary to that of the main verb: e.g. *panu panu kaṛde gajakan ātan* 'as he continued to grow up, the boy became big', *pōṭo panju panju cicis baṛkas dumdanat* 'if you eat so that your belly is continually filled, strength will come to you (lit. ascend you)'." (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970 : 98)

6.13. Kui

The suffix is /*-a* ∞ *-pa* ∞ *-va* ∞ *-ba*/.

-a

(a) *iṭ-a* 'to place'

panḍ-a 'to send'

vrīs-a 'to write'

ēg-a 'to open'
panj-a 'to be replete'

-pa

(b) *vē-pa* 'to strike'
gṛā-pa 'to cross'
ār-pa 'to call'
ēr-pa 'to kindle'
kās-pa 'to heat'
toh-pa 'to tie'

-va

(c) *ā-va* 'to be, become'
gi-va 'to do, make'
nō-va 'to pain'
sā-va 'to die'
kō-va 'to reap'
vī-va 'to shoot'
sī-va 'to give'

-ba

(d) *eṇ-ba* 'to receive'
in-ba 'to say'
nīl-ba 'to be standing'
nobga < **nog-ba* 'to wash'
sōl-ba 'to enter'
sal-ba 'to go'
uṇ-ba 'to drink'
ven-ba 'to hear, ask'

There exists an alternative infinitive form with the suffix *-oṇḍi*; it also is preceded by *p*, *v* and *b* respectively in the 2nd, 3rd and the 4th conjugations.

pāg-oṇḍi 'to fight'

uṇ-b-oṇḍi 'to drink'

6.14. **Kuvi**

The suffix is */-ali ~ -sali ∞ -cali ∞ -jali ∞ -hali/* or *-nayi* (variant *-inayi* after verbs of the 1st conjugation).

pāy-ali / pāy-inayi 'to beat'

hīy-ali / hī-nayi 'to give'

tōs-sali / tōh-nayi 'to show'

ve-cali / ve-nayi 'to beat'

ḍik-hali / ḍik-nayi 'to break'

ven-jali / ve-nayi 'to hear'

ha-jali 'to go' (: *hal-*)

re-jali 'to pull' (*rel-*)

6.15. **Kolami**

The form called "purposive" serves as infinitive in this language. The suffix for this is *-eṅ* (it has two variants, *eṅk* before voiceless consonants and *-eṅg* before voiced consonants and vowels).

kor-eṅ 'to bring'

tin-eṅ 'to eat'

āḍ-eṅg(e) 'to play'

kivar-eṅg 'to search'

It is used also in the hortative sense :

nēnḍ tineṅ 'Let us eat !'

6.16. Naiki (Ch.)

The suffix is *-en.*

tin-en 'to eat'

katk-en 'to cut'

oyk-en 'to see'

The form functions also as a verbal noun.

tin-en un-en 'eating (and) drinking'

6.17. Parji

The infinitive suffix in the North-Western dialect is *-u;* it is not found in the Southern dialect. Another suffix *-uṅ* occurs in both the dialects but is more common in the Southern dialect. However, verbs having alternate stems in *p/t* form their infinitives in the North-Western dialect by simply substituting *-(u)k* for their final *p/t;* in the Southern dialect the suffix *-uṅ* is added to *p-* ending stem to form the infinitive.

koy-u 'to reap'

endr-u 'to fetch'

tuñ-u 'to sleep'

ven-uṅ 'to hear'

nil-uk 'to stand' (: *nil-p-/nil-t-*)

eti-k 'to lift up' (: *eti-p-/eti-t-*)

Southern dialect :

tin-uṅ 'to eat'
mēy-uṅ 'to graze'
cen-uṅ 'to go'
eti-p-uṅ 'to raise'
kaḍ-p-uṅ 'to cross'

6.18. **Gadba** (*Ollari*)

The suffix is *-uṅ* (variant-*iṅ*); *-u* is also used. As in Parji, verbs having alternate stems in *p/t* substitute *k* for *p/t*.

sūṛ-uṅ 'to see'
kāk-iṅ 'to watch'
pok-u 'to speak'

6.19. **Kurux**

The suffix is *-ā* / *-nā* (*-nā* is a borrowing from Indo-Aryan). The infinitive functions also as a verbal noun.

es-ā/es-nā 'to break, breaking'

6.20. **Malto**

The suffix is *-oti.*

ēk-oti 'to go'
arg̣-tr-oti 'to catch'

The other two suffixes *-e* and *-po* given by Droese are simply nominalizing suffixes that are added to verb bases.

6.21. Brahui

The verbal noun with the suffix *-ing* (variant *-ēng)* is used a the infinitive.

bin-ing 'to hear'

<u>kh</u>all-ing 'to strike'

tin-ing 'to give'

ras-ēng 'to arrive'

aṛ-ēng 'to be entangled'

COMPARATIVE STUDY

6.22. Reconstructed suffix

(i) It will be clear from the above paragraphs that the genuine suffix of the infinitive mood in Dravidian is *-a*. It is found in Tamil, Old Malayalam, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Gonḍi, Kui and (rarely) Kuṛux; since these languages represent all the three main subgroups, the suffix can be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian.

In Kannaḍa the suffix *-a* is in free variation with *-al* (sometimes followed by the dative suffix *-ke)* which is a verbal noun suffix in origin. In Old Tamil also the infinitive with *-a* when it denotes "purpose" may be replaced by the verbal noun with *-al* plus the dative suffix *-kku*, e.g.

cey(y)-a
cey-aṟ-ku } 'to do, for doing'

var-a
var-aṟ-ku } 'to come, for coming'

On the basis of this evidence, Caldwell (1956 : 539) assumed genetic connection betwen the infinitive suffix *-a* (which he identified with the demonstrative base) and the verbal noun suffix *-al* and concluded that *a* is more original and that *-al* is "amplified" from *a*. However in Tamil and other languages (except Kannaḍa) the infinitive cannot always be replaced by the verbal noun. Therefore it is better to keep these two suffixes distinct even historically. In Kannaḍa, of course, both became free variants. The Kota infinitive suffix *-l* is from **-al* and the (areal) influence of the Kannaḍa on this is clearly apparent here.

(ii) The infinitive suffix in Telugu is *-an* with a final *n* which does not occur in any other language. To explain this *n*, Ramaswami Aiyar ("Two Dravidic Problems", p. 499) connects this to the verbal noun suffix *-al* of Tamil and Kannaḍa saying that "the change of *l* to *n* is not uncommon in Telugu as well as in the other Dravidian speeches." Since the (Old) Telugu infinitive functions syntactically exactly like infinitive of Tamil it must genetically also be related to the infinitive of the other languages rather than to the verbal noun. The final *n* may originally be the copula or simply a hiatus-filler before vowels from which position it was later extended to all positions. We find such an addition of *n* (called "*drutamu*" by traditional grammarians) finally to some other suffixes also. For example, the dative suffix in Old Telugu is *-kun* but no other language has evidence for the final *n*; the suffix is reconstructable as *-(V)*kk*. Similarly the negative adverbial suffix in Telugu is *-aka* but there is one instance in *Mahābhāratamu* (*Ādi parvamu*, 11th century),

i.e. *lē-kanu* 'without existing' where the final *n(u)* appears in this suffix also. All this shows that in Telugu some suffixes including the infinitive added an additional *n* which was a hiatus-filler or euphonic addition in origin.[1]

(iii) The infinitive morpheme of Kui is important for comparative study. In the verbs that belong to three of its conjugations (i.e., other than the first), *a* is preceded by a labial consonant (verbs of the second conjugation take *p*, of the third conjugation take *v* and those of the fourth conjugation take *b*). In *Caṅkam* Tamil also the strong verbs take the formative *-pp-* before the *-a* suffix. Old Telugu also shows a *-v-* between root and the infinitive *-a* in verbs that end in *-cu* (descriptively, *c(u)* → *v*/*-a*).

Kui *ār-pa* 'to call' : OTa. *ār-pp-a*, OTe. *ār-v-a*. (312)

Kui *gṛā-pa* 'to cross' : OTa. *kaṭa-v-a*, Te. *kaḍa-v-a*(929)

Kui *trō-pa* 'to press' : OTa. *tura-pp-a* 'to prople, scatter', OTe. *trō-va* 'to push'. (2744)

Kui *ḍṛā-pa* to step over' : Ta. *naṭa-pp-a* 'to walk', Te. *naḍa-v-a*. (2957)

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1. In-Kui also an *n* appears after the infinitive before the emphatic particle (see Winfield 1928 : 135, 152). Here also the *n* seems to be a hiatus-filler in origin since the emphatic particle occurs as *e* after words ending in *u* and as *ne* after those ending in the other vowels. Examples:

vēla sṛohpane sukanga gule lūmbinu.
'When the sun rises, all the stars disappear.'

tānu tāpeki vāvane tāṛa kūṛa veha vajite.
'After he came home, his wife cooked the food.'

Kui *nil-pa* 'to stand' : OTa. *niṟ-p-a*, Te. *nil(u)-v-a* (3043)
Kui *pū-pa* 'to blossom' : Ta. *pū-pp-a* (3564)
Kui *vē-va* 'to be cooked' : OTa. *vē-v-a* (4540)
Kui *vē-pa* 'to strike' : OTa *vai-pp-a* 'to put',
OTe. *vay-va* 'to put, throw'. (4565 & 4571)

The above instances make it clear that the *p*, *v* and *b* of the Kui infinitives must originally be strong verb formative *-pp-*. The Kui and the Telugu verbs that contain the labial element roughly correspond to the strong verbs of Tamil and other Southern languages. Of course, there are transfers also as in the case of Kui *uṇ-ba* 'to drink' (Ta. *uṇ(ṇ)-a*), *tin-ba* 'to eat' (Ta. *tiṉ(ṉ)-a*), etc. in which the variant with the labial element has been extended to verbs that originally belonged to the class of "weak verbs".

(iv) In the North-Western dialect of Parji verbs having alternate stems in *p/t* forms the infinitive by substituting *k* in the place of *p/t*. This class of verbs, in general, corresponds to the "strong verbs" of South Dravidian. It is easy to elicit some cognate verb-forms containing the velar stop suffix from Parji and Tamil.

Parji (North-Western dialect)		Tamil
kā-k 'to wait'	:	*kā-kk-a* (1192)
nilu-k 'to stand'	:	*niṟ-k-a* (3043)
paru-k 'to spread'	:	*para-kk-a* (3255)
pū-k 'to flower'	:	*pū-kk-a* (3564)
vāru-k 'to strain (water)'	:	*vār-kk-a* (4387)

On the basis of such cognate forms we have to suppose that the *-k-* of Parji and the *-kk-* of Tamil are genetically related. This suggests that in Proto-Dravidian strong verbs were having the formative *-kk-* before the infinitive *-a.* It must be noted that in Parji the archaic *k* suffix has been preserved only in the North-Western dialect while the other dialects of that language employ the more familiar *p-* ending stem (followed by *-uṅ*) in the formation of the infinitives of such verbs.

Whereas Old Tamil and Parji show both the velar and the labial suffix, Kui and possibly Telugu contain only the labial suffix in the infinitive forms of a class of verbs (most of which are originally "strong verbs"). In the case of Parji the variation is known to be dialectal. The Old Tamil material also may be interpreted in a similar way. It can be concluded from this that in Proto-Dravidian itself the "strong verbs" contained the formative **-pp-* or **-kk-* before the infinitive *-a* and that the two were most probably dialectal variants.

(v) Koṇḍa and Pengo agree with each other in forming the infinitive with the suffix / *teṅ* ∞ *deṅ*/. The suffix may be a verbal noun in origin.

(vi) The Kolami-Parji subgroup forms the infinitive in a way different from that found in the other Dravidian languages. The suffixes Kol *-eṅ(g)*, Nk. (Ch.) *-en*, Pa. *-uṅ* and Gad. *-uṅ/iṅ* all go back to Proto-Kolami-Parji **e/unk.*

These suffixes closely resemble the dative case suffixes of the languages of this group. The Proto-Kolami-Parji dative suffix has to be reconstructed as **-(u)nk.*[2] In view of the fact that, in Dravidian, to express the sense of "purpose" the infinitive as well as the verbal noun in the dative case can be employed (e.g., Ta. *coll-a/collu-vat-aṟku vantāṉ* 'he came to tell', Ka. *hēḷ-a/hēḷ-al-ikke bandanu* 'id.' Te. *cepp-an/ceppu-ṭa-ku vaccenu* 'id.') it may be assumed that in this subgroup the verbal noun (the nominalizing suffix being zero) with the dative suffix assumed the role of the infinitive.

6.23. Syntactic Use

The infinitive in many of the Dravidian languages is used to express a variety of meanings (see Agesthialingom, "Infinitive in Dravidian"). (i) The chief meaning of the infinitive is "purpose". An infinitive used in this sense can be replaced by the corresponding verbal noun plus the dative suffix (or a postposition meaning "for").

(Ta.) *nān cāppiṭa vantēṉ.*

'I came *to eat.*'

(Ma.) *ñān uṇṇān vannu.*

'I came *to eat.*'

(Ka.) *avaru nōḍal(ikke) bandaru.*

'He came *to see.*'

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2. "The termination of the dative is in the Northern dialects (of Parji) *-g*, after a consonant *-ug*, and in the Southern dialect *-ṅ, uṅ*... The original of the two forms is *-ṅg (-uṅg)*... The termination is identical with Kolami-Naikṛi *-ṅ, -uṅ*, which is likewise out of *-ṅg, -uṅg*." (so Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953 : 22).

(Tu.) *āri ennani tūyara batteri.*

'He came *to see* me.'

(Old Te.) *vāru kānakun paṇḍlu tēran ēgiri.*

'He (hon.) went to the forest *to bring* fruits.'

(Kui) *negi veska dahpa tangi sōru tini nāmbai maneru.*

'They are climbing the hill *to seek* for good wood.'

(Go.) *vōr kuhītk ēr tarlē sottōr.*

'He went to the well *to bring* water.'

(Pengo) *mar jopi puy ejjeṅ dumtat.*

'She climbed up the tree *to pick* flowers.'

(Koṇḍa) *baylud(u) mīteṅ bitek otan.*

'Bitek took (cattle) out *to graze.*'

(Koṇḍa) *ṭeṛka rēteṅ nesˀeta.*

'I did not know (how) *to open* the door.'

Also note that with verbs like 'to fear' it means "in order to."

(Ta.) *nāṉ vara(p) payantēṉ.*

'I was afraid *of coming.*'

(Ma.) *ñān pōkān bhayannu.*

'I was afraid *of going.*'

(Old Te.) *munu veṟatun ēyan mīralu nanun ēsinan gāni.*

'Unless you shoot (arrows on) me, I am afraid *of shooting* (arrows) first.'

(Mod. Te.) *cikaṭilō rāvaḍāniki bhayapaḍḍānu.*

'I was afraid *of coming* in dark.'

(Old Te.) *avicāramb ani palkan ōḍudumu.*

'We hesitate *to say* that (it) is not thought over.'

(Konḍa) *nān(u) veR–teṅ tiyil āzi*

'I, being afraid *to tell...*'

(Ka.) *nānu baral(ikke) hedaride.*

'I was afraid *of coming.*'

(ii) It is used also to express "cause" for the action denoted by the following verb in some languages.

(Ta.) *maḻai peyya kuḷam niṟaintatu.*

'*Since it rained*, the tank became full.'

(Old Ta.) *mōppak kuḻaiyum aniccam mukamtirintu nōkkak kuḻaiyum viruntu.* (*Tirukkuraḷ* 90)

"The flower *aniccam* withers *by smelling;* similarly the guest will be disappointed *by looking* at him with a changed face."

(Old Ka.) *maḷe baralu kere tumbitu.*

'*Since it rained* (lit., rain came), the tank became full.'

(Old Te.) *vāna kuriyan pañṭalu paṇḍunu.*

'*If it rains* crops will yield.'

In this sense the infinitive may be replaced by the corresponding verbal noun followed by the suffix or postposition meaning "by, because", e.g.

(Ta.) *maḻai peytatiṉ/peytatāl kuḷam niṟaintatu.*
(Mod. Te.) *vāna kuriyaṭam valla pañṭalu paṇḍutāyi.*

(iii) It also expresses "result or effect" of the action denoted by the following verb in some languages.

(Ta.) *kuḷam niṟaiya maḻai peytatu.*

'It rained so that the tank *became full.*'

(Ma.) *kuḷam niṟayān maḻa peytu.*

'It rained so that the tank *became full.*'

(Te.) *ceṟuvu niṇḍan vāna kurisenu.*

'It rained so that the tank *became full.*'

In this sense the infinitive may be replaced by the corresponding non-past adverb plus the word 'so, in that manner' :

(Ta.) *kuḷam niṟaiyumpaṭi maḻai peytatu.*

(Old Te.) *ceṟuvu ninḍunaṭlu vāna kurisenu.*

(Mod. Te.) *ceruvu ninḍēṭaṭṭu vāna kurisindi.*

(Ka.) *kere tumbuvante maḷe banditu.*

In spoken Tamil *nerayā* (< **niṟaiya*) is used in the sense of "plenty, too much" independently.

avan giṭṭe paṇam nerayā irukku.
'He has plenty of money with him.'

Similarly the postposition *ninḍā* 'fully' of spoken Telugu is infinitive in origin.

iṇṭi ninḍā cuṭṭālu unnāru.
'The house is full of relatives (lit., relatives are there (so that) the house is full.).'

Moreover, in Telugu the infinitive generally has this sense when it is followed by the auxiliary verbs *iccu* 'to give, allow', *vēyu* 'to throw', *koṭṭu* 'to beat', *tannu* 'to kick,' *trōcu* 'to push', *cēyu* 'to do', *ēyu* 'to shoot (arrow)' (the latter two only in Old Telugu), etc.

vāṇṇi mā iṇṭlō unḍan iccɛ̄nu
'I allowed him *to stay* in our(excl.) house.'

paḍa vēyu 'to throw down (lit. to throw so that object) falls'

pagala goṭṭu 'to break (lit. to beat/throw so that object) breaks'

(*paṇḍlu*) *ūḍa dannu* 'to kick so that (teeth) fall down'

cāvan jēyu 'to make to die,'

tala trevvan ēyu 'to shoot (arrow) so that the head is cut off'

(iv) Another use of the infinitive is its function as an adverb of time. The Telugu grammarian *Cinnayasūri* (*Bālavyākaraṇamu*, *kriyā*, *sutra* 40) noted this meaning of the infinitive and calls it "*bhāvalakṣaṇamu*".

(Ta.) *avan̲ vara nān̲ pōn̲ēn̲.*

'I went *as soon as*/*while* he *came.*'

(Ta.) *avan̲ pāṭa nān̲ āṭin̲ēn̲.*

'*While* he *sang*, I danced.'

(Old Ka.) *gāyakaṃ pāḍe dēvaṃ meccidaṃ.*

'*When* the singer *was singing*, God was pleased.'

(Ka.) *avanu baralu nānu hōde.*

'I went *as soon as* he *came.*'

(Old Te.) *nanun okaṇḍu īyēvuru cūḍagā sabhakun iḍcen.* "*While* these five (men) *were seeing*, one dragged me to the assembly."

(Old Te.) *nīvu ani novvan oṇḍu valanu canuṭa*

"Going to the other side *while* you *are hurt* in the war."

(Old Te.) *ēn uṇḍa veṟapu ēla?*

'Why are you afraid *when* I *am* (here).'

(Mod. Te.) *vāḍu iṇṭidaggira uṇḍagā nēnu cūsɛ̄nu.*

I saw him *while* he *was* in the house.'

(Mod. Te.) *nēnu aḍaga gānē vāḍu ḍabbu iccĒḍu.*

'*As soon as* I *asked*, he gave the money.'

(Ta.) *nāṉ avaṉ vara(k) kaṇṭēṉ.*

'I saw him *coming*.'

(Old Te.) *ataṇḍu tōla siggu ēmiyu lēka pāṟuneḍan evvaru tiṭṭiri ninnu?*

'Who abused you when you ran away without being ashamed *while* he *was chasing*?'

(Kui) *lāvenga sānja sānja ēski maneru.*

'The young men are singing *beautifully.*'

(Pengo) *nā/ān nindeṅge koju kṛetat.*

'While I *was getting up*, the cock crew.'

(Brahui) *oftā tavār kanning, nanā urānā pēhing.*

'The moment they *cried* out, we entered the house.'

(Brahui) *ī ode dudēngāi k͟hanāṭ.*

'I saw him *on the point of running.*'

(In modern Telugu the infinitive in this sense is always followed by the adverbializer *-gā(nē)*, e.g. *uṇḍagā* 'while (subject) stayed', *ceppagānē* 'as soon as (subject) told', *ceppagā ceppagā* 'after (subject) told (many times)'.)

The infinitive when used as an adverbial may be repeated for emphasis (this is not found in Kannaḍa and Tuḷu).

(Ta.) *nāṉ collac colla avaṉ kēṭkavillai.*

'Even *after* (my) *telling* many times, he did not listen.'

(Old Te.) *tināga tināga vēmu tīya nagunu.*

'Margosa will become sweet *after eating* many times.'

(Mod. Te.) *aḍagagā aḍagagā vāḍu ḍabbu iccɛ̄ḍu.*

'He gave the money *after asking* for many times.'

(Old Te.) *nī valani vairamu kīḍani ceppan̲ ceppan̲ ī kaurava rāju mānāḍu.*

'This king of Kauravas will not stop even *after* (my) *saying* for many times that enmity with you is harmful.'

Also note Ta. *vara vara, pōka pōka* 'as (time) passes', Te. *rānu rānu, pōnu pōnu* 'id.'.

(v) The infinitive is used also as a predicate; in such constructions it expresses the optative or benedictive meaning (Caldwell 1956 : 538).

(Old Ta.) *ir̲iiyar en̲n̲ uyir.* '*Let* my life *be destroyed!*'

(Old Ta.) *yān̲ vāḻu nāḷum paṇṇan̲ vāḻiya.*

'*May* Paṇṇan *live* as long as I do!'

(Ma.) *rājāvə niṇāḷ vāḻka!*

'*May* the king *live* long!'

(Ka.) *ninna mane hāḷ āga/āgali.*

'*May* your house *be destroyed*'

(Ka.) *avanu bēga barali !*

'*May* he *come* soon!'

(Te.) *nī kaḍupu kāla* !

'*May* your womb (children) *burn* !'

(Te.) *nī illu bangāram gānu*!

'*May* your house *become* (full of) gold !'

(Krishnamurti (1961 : 213) calls such forms in Telugu admonitives or abusives.)

When it is preceded by an interrogative word or followed by the interrogative particle it has the sense of a verbal noun (it can be replaced by the verbal noun in such constructions).

(Ta.) *nāṉ eṅkē pōka?* 'Where *shall* I *go* ?'

(Ta.) *nāṉ nāḷaikki varavā?*

'*Shall* I *come* tomorrow? '

(Ma.) *ñān eṅṅu pōkān?* 'Where *shall* I *go?* '

(Ka.) *nānu/nāvu elli hōgali ?*

'Where *shall* I/we *go?* '

(Mod. Te.) *nēnu dīnini evvariki ivvanu?*

'To whom *shall* I *give this* ?'

(Mod. Te.) *nēnu/mēm rēpu veḷḷamā .?*

'*Shall* I/we (excl.) *go* tomorrow? '

(Note that such sentences with the first person plural in Telugu are analogical to those with the first person singular. In Telugu only the 1st person sg. and exclusive pl. pronouns occur as subjects in such constructions).

(vi) In Kolami the infinitive functions also as imperative and similarly in Konḍa the infinitive functions as a verbal noun and also as an obligative.

(Kol.) *nēnḍ tin–eṅ* '*Let* us *eat*!'

(Konḍa) *sīdeṅ* 'to give, giving, (one) must give!'

(vii) In Kui, the infinitive is used as a verbal noun and therefore it can be used as a noun or adjective.

ketanga ṟūva, plahanga uha, enga kūḍinga kōva,

īvi gule tāsa gaṭani paiṭi.

'The *ploughing* of fields, *planting* of seedlings, and *reaping* of paddy is all the work of the farmer.'

punba gaṭari 'wise woman (lit., knowing waman).'

uṇba siḍru 'drinking water'

ḍōpa iḍu 'sleeping house'

Similarly in Brahui the infinitive is a verbal noun and can take all case suffixes.

dushmannā khalling jwān e.

'It is pleasant *to strike* the foe.'

nanā tūlingnā jāga dād e.

'This is our *sitting* place.'

nane khudā kahingiskā jitā kapp.

'*May* God not part us *till death* !'

6.24. Conclusion

1. The Proto-Dravidian infinitive suffix was *-*a*; in strong verbs it was preceded by the formative *-*pp*- / *-*kk*- as evidenced by Old Tamil, Kui and Parji. *-*pp*- and -*kk*- are most probably dialectal variants.

2. Though morphologically simpler, the infinitive syntactically functions in a variety of ways. Its chief functions are to express "purpose", "cause", "effect" and also as an adverbial of time. In some of the languages it is used predicatively also to express imperative, optative and obligatory moods. The optative of the Southern languages may be a special development of the infinitive (see chapter[7]).

3. While in many languages it is in free variation with the verbal noun (plus case suffixes), in languages like Kannaḍa, the Kolami-Parji group, Koṇḍa-Pengo and Brahui the original infinitive has been replaced by verbal noun. A similar change took place in Telugu also. While the infinitive was prevalent in Old Telugu it is retained in modern Telugu chiefly in constructions with auxiliaries and as a predicative ; elsewhere it is replaced by the verbal noun (plus various case suffixes or postpositions). This development is most probably due to the heavy functional load that the infinitive possessed originally.

7.

IMPERATIVE MOOD

7.0. Introduction

Because of the semantic restrictions, there are only two forms in the imperative (affirmative as well as negative). They are : second person singular and the corresponding plural. In many of the languages the verb base itself functions as the second person singular imperative; in others it is followed by the (second person) singular suffix. The plural imperative consists of the verb base plus the (second person) plural suffix. Most of the Dravidian languages contain a morphological construction for the negative imperative also; in this the negative suffix (see chapter 4) occurs between the verb base and the number suffix (i.e., 2nd sg. or pl.).

Some of the languages in addition contain an optative or potential form expressing wish or mild command; they can refer to the first and the third persons also (see 7.24.).

7.1. Tamil

(i) IMPERATIVE SINGULAR : (a) The verb base itself without any overt suffix (i.e., the suffix is -∅) is commonly used.

kēḷ 'Hear, ask !'
col 'Tell !'
pāṭu 'Sing !'
ōṭu 'Run !'

(b) In Old Tamil the 2nd person sg. suffix *-āy* is sometimes added to the base.

kēḷ-āy 'Hear, ask !'
vār-āy 'Come !'
cell-āy 'Go !'

(c) In Old Tamil the suffix *-mō/-mē/-m* is sometimes added to the base.

urai-mō 'Tell !'
uḷḷu-mō 'Think !'
cey-mmē 'Do !'
piri-mē 'Separate !'
uṇ-m 'Eat, drink !'
ceṉ-m 'Go !'

There are also instences in which the forms are used as plurals:

vaikam vammō(*PN*, 221) 'Let us stay, come !'
taṅkiṉir ceṉmō (*PN*, 333) 'Stay and Go !'

The imperative forms of *ī* 'to give', which functions as an auxiliary are added to the past adverb of a verb in Old Tamil.

ceṉrimō (*KT*, 44) '2nd or 3rd person will go.'

iruntīmō (*PN*, 319) '2nd or 3rd person will stay.'

vantīmō (*NT*, 156) '2nd or 3rd person will come.'

(d) The second person singular of the future tense with the future suffix *-t-* is sometimes used as the imperative.

en̲-r̲-i 'Tell !'

teri-t-i 'Know !'

pōku-t-i 'Go !'

(e) The suffix *-mati* may be added to the verb base in Old Tamil. This form is common for both sg. and pl. of the 2nd person.

aḷi-mati 'Give !'

ōmpu-mati 'Stop !'

karai-mati 'Call !'

(ii) IMPERATIVE PLURAL : (a) The suffix *-min̲* is added to the verb base in Old Tamil : *-uṅkaḷ* (< *-um-kaḷ*) is the suffix in modern Tamil.

(Old) *cēr-min̲* 'Reach !'

nir̲u-min̲ 'Stop !'

va-mmin̲ 'Come !'

koṭu-min̲ 'Give !'

Cf. *kēṭṭīmin̲* '2nd or 3rd person will hear, ask !'

(Mod.) *nill-uṅkaḷ* 'Stay !'

koṭ-uṅkaḷ 'Give'

pār-uṅkaḷ 'See'

In modern Tamil the forms with *-um* are used as honorific forms denoting first degree respect while forms with *-uṅkaḷ* indicate second degree (or full) respect, *vār-um* 'come !', *nill-um* 'stand !'

(b) In Old Tamil the 2nd person pl. suffix *-īr* is sometimes added to the base.

kāṇ-īr 'See !'

cell-īr 'Go !'

vār-īr 'Come !'

(iii) Optative: (a) It occurs only in Old Tamil. The suffix is *-ka* (*-kka* in strong verbs).

kāṇ-ka 'May (subject) see !'

peṟu-ka 'May (subject) obtain !'

oḻi-kka 'May (subject) destroy !'

ciṟa-kka 'May (subject) flourish !'

(b) Another suffix is *-iya, -iyar*.

maṉṉ-iya 'May (subject) stay !'

vāḻ-iya
vāḻ-iyar } 'May (subject) live !'

āk-iyar 'May (subject) become !'

āka, the optative of *ā(ku)-* 'to be, become' is used sometimes after a finite verb.

kāṇkuvatu āka 'May (subject) see !'

ceytēṉ ākuka 'May I do !'

(c) Verbal nouns are employed as optatives (in Old Tamil).

aṟi-tal 'May (subject) know!'

kāṭṭ-al 'May (subject) show!'

cey-al 'May (subject) do!'

They are also combined with *vēṇṭum* 'it is necessary'.

cey-al/cey-tal vēṇṭum '(One) must do!'

cūḻ-tal vēṇṭum '(One) must think!'

In modern Tamil the infinitive of a verb combines with *vēṇṭum* to express the obligative meaning.

var-a vēṇṭum }
(Colloq.) *var-aṇum* } '(One) must come'.

The optative forms are used in Old Tamil texts in agreement with subjects of all persons although *Tolkāppiyam* (*sutra* 226) prescribes the use of optative only in persons other than the first and the second (see Ramaswami Aiyar 1938 : 772).

(iv) Prohibitive Singular: (a) In Old Tamil the verb base is followed by the negative suffix *-al* (rarely, *-ēl*); the sg. suffix is -∅.

cell-al 'Do not go!'

vār-al 'Do not come!'

nīṅk-al 'Do not get away!'

anc-ēl 'Do not be afraid'
muṟiy-ēl 'Do not break!'

(b) It is formed also by adding *–āti* (negative *–āt–* and 2nd sg *–i*) to the base.

aḻiy-āt–i 'Do not destroy!'
nill-āt–i 'Do not stand!'
pōk-āt-i 'Do not go!'

In the modern dialect the suffix is *–ātē–*.

ceyy-āt-ē 'Do not do!'
var-āt-ē 'Do not come!'

(v) PROHIBITIVE PLURAL: (a) In Old Tamil it is made by adding to the base *-aṉ-miṉ* (negative *-al* plus 2nd pl. *-miṉ*).

koḷḷ–aṉ–miṉ 'Do not take!'
koll–aṉ–miṉ 'Do not kill!'
nill–aṉ–miṉ 'Do not stand!'

(b) In Old Tamil the base is followed by *–al–ir* (negative *–al* plus 2nd pl. *–ir*) also.

cell-al-ir 'Do not go!'
uṇṇ-al-ir 'Do not eat, drink!'
nill–al–ir 'Do not stand!'

(c) In Old Tamil the base is followed by *-āt–īm* (negative *–āt-* plus 2nd pl. *-īm*).

maṟav-āt-īm 'Do not forget!'

ciṉav-āt-īm 'Do not be angry!'

cell-āt-īm 'Do not go!'

In the colloquial language the base (in strong verbs with the formative) is followed by *-ātiṅka(ḷ)* (negative *-āt-* plus 2nd pl. *-iṅkaḷ*).

coll-āt-iṅka(ḷ) 'Do not tell!'
pā(r)-kk-āt-iṅka(ḷ) 'Do not see!'

(vi) NEGATIVE OPTATIVE: (a) It is used only in Old Tamil. It is made by adding to the base the negative *-al* followed by the optative *-ka*.

cell-aṟ-ka 'May (subject) not go!'

vār-aṟ-ka 'May (subject) not come!'

cūḻ-aṟ-ka 'May (subject) not think!'

(b) It is made also by adding to the base the negative *al* or *il* followed by the optative *-iyar*.

iṟ-āal-iyar 'May (subject) not break off!'

kāṇ-il-iyar 'May (subject) not see!'

Also cf. *kāṇ-aṉ-mār* (*NT*, 64) 'they (hum.) will not see', and *pāṭ-aṉ-mār* (*PN*, 375) 'they (hum.) will not sing'; in these the negative *-al-* occurs with the suffix *-mār* (see § 3.1 (v)).

7.2. Malayalam

(i) IMPERATIVE SINGULAR: (a) In Old Malayalam the verb base itself, taking optionally the enunciative *u* is

used. In strong verbs the formative *kk* occurs optionally in the imperative sg. forms.

col } 'Tell !'
collu }

nil } 'Stand!'
nilllu }

iru } 'Be!'
irikku }

naṭa } 'Walk!'
naṭakku }

"The reason for the frequent incorporation of *–kk–* in singular imperatives is, I think, the popularity enjoyed by the polite imperatives (derived from optatives) of the type of a *eṭukka* in Mal." (so Ramaswami Aiyar 1936 : 89).

In Old Malayalam forms like *kēḷ–āy* 'hear', *kāṇ–īr* 'see' with the personal suffix occur as imperatives due to the influence of Tamil literary usage.

(ii) IMPERATIVE PLURAL : In Old Malayalam the suffix is *–vin* (∞ *-ppin-* ~ *–min*) ; *-ppin* occurs after strong verbs and *-min* after verbs ending in a nasal.

cey–vin 'Do !'

col(*lu*)*-vin* 'Say !'

kēḷ-ppin 'Hear, ask !'

kāṇ-min 'See !'

(iii) In modern Malayalam the imperative is common to both sg. and pl.; it is formed by adding *-u* or *-ə* to the verb base. While forms with *-ə* denote no respect and used only in talking to inferiors, those with *-u* denote some respect. The polite imperative is used to denote full respect.

pōv-u / *pov-ə* 'Go!'

tinn-u / *tinn-ə* 'Eat!'

kāṇ-u / *kāṇ-ə* 'See!'

(iv) POLITE IMPERATIVE: The suffix is *-(u)ka*/*-kka*; in strong verbs *-kka* is in free variation with *-kkuka*.

aṟi-ka 'Know!'

coll-uka
col-ka } 'Tell!'

pāṭu-ka 'Sing!'

paṟa-kka
paṟa-kkuka } 'Tell!'

In literature the final vowel of this is often lengthened *col-kā* 'Tell!', *koḷ-kā* 'Take!'

(v) In Old Malayalam future participials with final *-atu*, *-itu*, *-ūtu* (or *-utu*) have an imperative value.

pōv-itu 'Go!'

koṭu-pp-ūtu
koṭu-pp-atu } 'Give'

cel-v-itu 'Go!'

āka, the polite imperative of *ā*– 'to be, become' is sometimes added to the future participials.

vel-v-ūt āka 'May (subject) win!'

The –*ū* aorists are also used imperatively:

kēḷ-p-ū 'Hear!'

koḷ-v-ū 'Take!'

ā–vū 'Be, become!'

(vi) PERMISSIVE: The ending –*ṭṭē* (<*oṭṭē* = *oṭṭu* 'to allow' + emphatic *ē*) is used as permissive.

nōkk-aṭṭē 'Let (somebody) look!'

var–aṭṭē 'Let (somebody) come!'

tin̲n̲–aṭṭē 'Let (somebody) eat!'

(vii) The concessive with *āl-um* is used as polite imperative (Ramaswami Aiyar thinks that in such constructions *nannu* 'good' has been dropped).

ko-nn–āl-um 'Kill (lit, even if you kill)!'

cey–t–āl–um 'Do (lit, even if you do)!'

(viii) The combination of the old infinitive (with -*a*) with *ām* (<*āk–um* 'it will become') expresses 'ability or permission'. With first person subject' it means 'promise.'

varām '(Subject) may/can come!'

enikku pōkām 'I may/can come!'

ñān/ñaṅṅaḷ varām 'I/we (excl.) will come!'

(ix) PROHIBITIVE: (a) The negative verbal noun (see 4.2.) with *-āy-ka* functions as the prohibitive in Old Malayalam; in the very early period it is followed by *vēṇṭum* 'it is necessery.'

ceyy-āy-ka (vēṇṭum) '(One) should not do (lit. not doing is necessary).'

pōk-āy-ka '(One) should not go.'

(b) The construction, infinitive plus *vēṇṭā* 'it is not necessary' is quite common.

ceyy-a vēṇṭā
(later) *ceyy-ēṇṭā* } '(One) should not do!'

(c) The construction, infinitive + *ollā*(*tē*) (with the elision of *a*) expresses prohibition in Old Malayalam. *ollā* is the negative form of *ol-*.

ceyyollā(tē) 'Do not do!'

Forms with *-allē* are common in the colloquial language.

ceyy-allē 'Do not do!'

(d) The construction, infinitive (with *-a*) plus *arutu* 'scarcity' in older texts means 'difficulty or impossibility' but in later texts it underwent semantic change and means 'prohibition'. In present-day Malayalam this construction alone is used to express 'prohibition' (the final vowel is ə in the spoken form).

ceyy(a)-arutu 'Do not do (originally, it is difficult to do)!'

var-(a) arutu 'Do not come!'

tinn-(a) arutu 'Do not eat!'

(e) A second person pl. negative imperative with the structure: Base *-āy* (neg.) *-vin* (2nd pl.) was very common down till the 16th and 17th centuries.

nill-āy-vin 'Do not stand!'

ōṭ-āy-vin 'Do not run!'

paṟay-āy-vin 'Do not say!'

7.3. Kota

(i) Imperative Singular: The suffix is -∅.

ōg-∅ 'Go!'

tin-∅ 'Eat!'

org-∅ 'Sleep!'

(ii) Imperative Plural: The suffix is *-m*.

ōg-m 'Go!'

tin-m 'Eat!'

org-m 'Sleep!'

(iii) Prohibitive Singular: The base is followed by the negative marker *-ād-* which in turn is followed by the sg. marker *-ī*.

añj-ād-ī 'Do not be afraid!'

vār-ād-ī 'Do not come!'

(iv) Prohibitive Plural: Base *-ād* (neg.) *-īm* (pl.).

anj-ād-īm 'Do not be afraid!'

vār-ād-īm 'Do not come!'

(v) NEGATIVE OBLIGATIVE: The base is followed by *-kōlā*.

key-kōlā '(One) should not do!'

uṇ-kōlā '(One) should not drink!'

7.4. Toda

(i) IMPERATIVE SINGULAR: The suffix is -Ø.

pō 'Go!'

kīy 'Do!'

nil 'Stand!'

(ii) IMPERATIVE PLURAL: The suffix is *-s̠*.

pō-s̠ 'Go!'

kīy-s̠ 'Do!'

nil-s̠ 'Stand!'

(iii) PERMISSIVE: The suffix is *-ku(~ -gu)*.

wīḍ-ku '(One) may run!'

paš-ku '(One) may come!'

tin-gu '(One) may eat!'

(iv) OPTATIVE: The suffix is *-mo*.

öšt-mo 'Let (somebody) say!'

kīy-mo 'Let (somebody) do!'

naṛ-mo 'Let (somebody) walk!'

(v) PROHIBITIVE: The suffix *-oṭi* is added to the secondary stem; the form is common to both sg. and pl.

pint-oṭi 'Do not listen!'

pod-oṭi 'Do not come!'

tīḏ-oṭi 'Do not eat!'

7.5. Kodagu

(i) IMPERATIVE SINGULAR: The suffix is -Ø (in bases ending in a consonant, the enunciative *ī* occurs finally).

bā 'Come!'

aḍi 'Beat!'

māḍī 'Do!'

(ii) IMPERATIVE PLURAL: The suffix is *-iri* (~*-ri*); *ri* in *-iri* is dropped optionally.

bā-ri 'Come!'
aḍi-ri 'Beat!'
māḍ-i(ri) 'Do!'

(iii) PROHIBITIVE SINGULAR: The structure is:
Base *-at* (neg.) *-e* (sg.)

bakk-at-e 'Do not come!'
tar-at-e 'Do not give!'
aḍik-at-e 'Do not beat!'

(iv) PROHIBITIVE PLURAL: The structure is:
Base *-at* (neg.) *-i* (pl.)

bakk-at-i 'Do not come!'

tar-at-i 'Do not give!'

aḍik-at-i 'Do not beat!'

(v) OBLIGATIVE: The suffix is *-oṇḍu.*

bakk-oṇḍu '(One) must come!'

keyy-oṇḍu '(One) must do!'

aḍik-oṇḍu '(One) must beat!'

(vi) NEGATIVE OBLIGATIVE: The suffix is *-aṇḍa.*

bakk-aṇḍa '(One) must not come.'

keyy-aṇḍa '(One) must not do.'

aḍik-aṇḍa '(One) must not beat.'

7.6. Kannada

(i) IMPERATIVE SINGULAR: The suffix is-Ø (final *u* is enunciative).

nōḍu 'See!'

kare 'Call!'

kuḍi 'Drink!'

bā 'Come!'

(ii) IMPERATIVE PLURAL: The suffix in Old Kannaḍa is *-iṃ* and in modern kannaḍa *-i/-iri.*

pēḻ-iṃ
hēḷ-i(ri) } 'Say!'

māḍ-iṃ } 'Do !'
māḍ-i(ri) }

bann-iṃ }
bann-i(ri) } 'Come !'
bar-ri }

(iii) The 3rd neut. sg. form of the future tense is also used as an imperative common for all persons and numbers.

ī-v-udu '(Subject) should give.'

kāṇ-b-udu '(Subject) should see.'

kēḷ-p-udu '(Subject) should ask or hear.'

(iv) OPTATIVE: The suffix is *-ge* / *-ke* in Old Kannaḍa and *-ali* in modern Kannaḍa.

(Old) *taṇi-ge* 'May (subject) cool !'

keḍu-ge 'May (subject) be spoiled!'

kāṇ-ge 'May (subject) see!'

bar-ke 'May (subject) come!'

(Mod.) *kāṇ-ali* 'May (subject) see!'

koḍ-ali 'May (subject) give!'

bar-ali 'May (subject) come!'

(F. Kittel's (1903 : 153-57) derivation of the modern optative with *-ali* from Old Kannaḍa prohibitive with the assumption that the meaning "prohibition" became an order or permission in an indirect form does not seem to be convincing.)

(v) PROHIBITIVE: In Old Kannaḍa it was made by adding to the verb base negative *-al* (the sg. suffix is -Ø and the pl. suffix *-im* is added to *–al*).

(sg.) *pug-al*
(pl.) *pug-al–im* } 'Do not enter !'

(sg.) *nōḍ-al*
(pl.) *nōḍ–al–im* } 'Do not see !'

In modern Kannaḍa prohibition is expressed by the syntactic construction : Infinitive + *bēḍa* 'it is not necessary'.

bar-a bēḍa '(Subject) need not come.'

kāṇ–a bēḍa '(Subject) need not see.'

7.7. Tulu

(i) IMPERATIVE SINGULAR: The suffix is *–Ø/–la* (free variants in most of the verbs). Monosyllabic bases ending in a consonant other than *y* take enunciative vowel *ī* or *u* when they take the Ø variant.

uṇu / uṇ-la 'Eat !'

koru / kor-la 'Give !'

jekkī / jek-la 'Wash !'

ba–la 'Come !'

pō / pō–la 'Go !'

(ii) IMPERATIVE PLURAL: The suffix is *–i/–le* free variants in most of the verbs).

kalp–i / kalpu–le 'Learn !'
par–i / par–le 'Drink !'

kor–i / *kor–le* 'Give'

ba–le 'Come!'

pō–le 'Go!'

(iii) HORTATIVE: The suffix is *–ga* (variant *-ka*).

kalpu-ga 'Let us learn!'
kor-ka 'Let us give!'
kēṇī-ga 'Let us ask!'
bar–ka 'Let us come!'

(D.N Shankara Bhat (1967: 65) gives also the corresponding 1st sg. forms lika *ampugɛ* 'let me do!', *jekkīgɛ* 'let me wash', etc. with the sg. suffix *–ɛ*.

(iv) OPTATIVE: The suffix is *–aḍī*; the form is used only with 3rd person subjects.

kalp-aḍī 'May (subject) learn!'
tin-aḍī 'May (subject) eat!'
bar-aḍī 'May (subject) come!'

(v) PROSPECTIVE: The suffix is *-oḷi* in the Brahmin dialect and *-oli* in the common dialect.

bar–oḷi /*bar-oli* '(Subject) can come.'

tin-oḷi / *tin–oli* '(Subject) can eat.'

mīy–oḷi / *mīy-oli* '(Subject) can bathe.'

(vi) ASSERTIVE: The suffix is *–oḍu* (<*bōḍu* 'it is necessary)·

pōv-oḍu '(One) must go.'
paṇ-oḍu '(One) must tell.
gepp-oḍu '(One) must take.'

(vii) PROHIBITIVE : The structure is:

Base *-aḍ* (neg.)- { *a* (sg.) / *e* (pl.) }

(sg.) *ker-aḍ-a*
(pl.) *ker-aḍ-e* } 'Do not kill!'

(sg.) *kēṇ-aḍ-a*
(pl.) *kēṇ-aḍ-e* } 'Do not ask!'

(sg.) *bar-aḍ-a*
(pl.) *bar-aḍ-e* } 'Do not come!'

(viii) NEGATIVE ASSERTIVE : The suffix is *-ōtri* (< *bōtti* 'it is not necessary') in the Brahmin dialect and *-oḍci* (< *boḍci* 'it is not necessary') in the common dialect.

kalp-ōtri
kalp-oḍci } '(One) should not learn.'

gepp-ōtri
gepp-oḍci } '(One) should not take.'

par-ōtri
par-oḍci } '(One) should not drink.'

7.8. Telugu

(i) IMPERATIVE SINGULAR : In Old Telugu the suffix is *-mu* freely alternating with ∅ when not followed by a word beginning with a vowel (also utterance finally). However in a class of verbs that have monosyllabic stem alternants ending in a vowel before the imperative the suffix

appears only as *-mmu* (but not -∅). When the imperative form (sg. or pl.) of a verb is repeated, the suffixes of the first form are optionally dropped.

ceppu-mu }
ceppu } 'Tell !'

cūḍu-mu }
cūḍu } 'See !'

i-mmu 'Give !'

ra-mmu 'Come !'

uṇḍumuṇḍumu }
uṇḍuṇḍumu } 'Stay ! Stay !'

rammurammu }
rārammu } 'Come! Come !'

In modern Telugu the suffix is -∅.

ceppu 'Tell !'

tinu 'Eat !'

rā 'Come !'

pō 'Go !'

However, in the spoken language traces of the older *-m(u)* suffix are retained in one particular construction, viz., that in which the imperative (sg.) form of a verb is followed by the forms of *anu* 'to say, tell, ask' in the sense "(subject) asked (somebody) to V". In this the verb base is followed by *-am-* (~*-mm-* after bases of the type (C)V; original *u* changed to *a* in this due to assimilation to the following *a*).

vāḍu nannu ī māṭa nītō ceppamannāḍu.

'He asked me to tell this news(lit. word)to you.'

nēnu vāṇṇi rēpu rammannānu

'I asked him to come tomorrow (lit. I said (to) him 'come tomorrow!').'

(ii) IMPERATIVE PLURAL: In Old Telugu the suffix is *-uṇḍu* (it freely varies with *-ūḍu*); after stem alternants of the type (C)V, it has the variant *-ṇḍu* without *u*.

tin-uṇḍu/tin-ūḍu 'Eat!'

cepp-uṇḍu/cepp-ūḍu 'Tell!'

i-ṇḍu 'Give!'

ra-ṇḍu 'Come!'

rā ra-ṇḍu 'Come! Come!'

pō poṇḍu 'Go! Go!'

In modern Telugu the suffix is *-aṇḍi* (*-aṇḍa* in the dialects of Tamilnadu); the *a* is dropped after stems of the (C)V type.

tin-aṇḍi 'Eat!'

cepp-aṇḍi 'Tell!'

ra-ṇḍi 'Come!'

po-ṇḍi 'Go!'

(iii) OPTATIVE: (a) In old Telugu the suffix is *-eḍun* or *-tan*. The final *n* of this changes to *m* before a vowel.

mīku mēlu galigeḍun/galugutan !

'May you prosper (lit. prosperity may happen to you)!'

(b) In Old Telugu the non-past adjective followed by *adi* is also used as the optative or imperative.

nīvu ṟēpu vaccunadi.

'You (sg.) *must come* tomorrow.'

(c) The word *gāka* 'may it happen' added to a future verb form also expresses the optative.

eṟig-eda-vu gāka 'May you (sg.) know !'
va-ttu-ru gāka
'May you (pl.)/they (hum.) come !'

(d) In modern Telugu the obligative with the suffix *-āli* (< **valayunu* 'it is necessary' preceded by infinitive) is used also in the optative tense.

sukhamgā uṇḍ-āli
'(One) must be happy/May (subject) be happy !'

The infinitive is also used as optative in a limited number of verbs (see p. 449f.)

(iv) PROHIBITIVE SINGULAR AND PLURAL: The verb base is followed by the negative suffix *-aku* and it in turn is followed by the sg. suffix *-mu* freely varying with ∅ in Old Telugu. In modern Telugu the form with ∅ alone is used.

tin-aku-mu/tin-aku 'Do not eat !'

cepp-aku-mu/cepp-aku 'Do not tell !'

rā-ku-mu/rā-ku 'Do not come!'

The pl. suffix is *-uṇḍu/-ũḍu* (one of the two *u*'s is dropped) in Old Telugu and *-aṇḍi* in modern Telugu.

tin-ak-uṇḍu/tin-ak-ũḍu *tin-ak-aṇḍi*	'Do not eat!'
ḍig-ak-uṇḍu/ḍig-ak-ũḍu *dig-ak-aṇḍi*	'Do not get down!'

7.9. Gondi

(i) IMPERATIVE: The imperative suffix is *-ā-* (~ *-m-* ~ *-∅-*); *-m-* occurs after stem of the (C)V̄ type and *-∅-* after stems ending in *n* and *-ā-* occurs elsewhere. It is followed by the suffix, sg. *-∅* and pl. *-ṭ*.

Sg.	Pl.	
aṭṭ-ā	*aṭṭ-ā-ṭ*	'Cook!'
var-ā	*var-ā-ṭ*	'Come!'
sī-m	*sī-m-ṭ*	'Give!'
tin-∅	*tin-∅-ṭ*	'Eat!'

In the Koya dialect the imperative suffix is *a* (~ *-mu-* ~ *-u-*); *-mu-* occurs after stems of the types (C)VC and (C)V̆̄, *-u-* after stems ending in *nn* and *-a* occurs elsewhere. It is followed by the suffixes, sg. *-∅* and pl. *-ṭu* (~*-ṭi* after *a*) (before the pl. *-ṭu* the vowel of the imperative is lengthened).

Sg	Pl	
kars-a	*kars-ā-ṭi*	'Play!'
varr-a	*varr-ā-ṭi*	'Come!'

uḍ-mu	*uḍ-mū-ṭu*	'Plough!'
koy-mu	*koy-mū-ṭu*	'Pluck !'
to-mmu	*to-mmū-ṭu*	'Tie !'
kā-mu	*kā-mū-ṭu*	'Dig !'
tinn-u	*tinn-ū-ṭu*	'Eat !'

(ii) Potential : This is used only in the 3rd person. The potential suffix is *-ī-* and it is followed by the 3rd person suffixes.

vōr kām kary-ī-r 'He will (i.e., has to learn the work.'

ad undī pāṭā <u>vār-i-Ø</u> 'She will sing a song!'

The potential in the Koya dialect is *ī* with a variant *-vī-* after stems of the types (C)VC and (C)$\check{\bar{V}}$.

noṛ-vī-ṇḍu 'He will (i.e., has to) wash.'

nor-vī-Ø 'She/it will wash.'

ann-ī-ri 'They (m.) will go.'

ann-ī-(ku) 'They (non-m.) will go.'

(iii) Prohibitive : It has the structure :

Base - *vā/mā* (neg.) - $\begin{cases} \text{2 sg. } \varnothing \\ \text{2 pl. -ṭ} \end{cases}$

Sg.	Pl.	
aṭ-vā/aṭ-mā	*aṭ-vā-ṭ/aṭ-mā-ṭ*	'Do not cook !'
vāy-vā/vāy-mā	*vāy-vā-ṭ/vāy-mā-ṭ*	'Do not come !'
veh-vā/veh-mā	*veh-vā-ṭ/veh-mā-ṭ*	'Do not tell !'

In the dialect described by Trench, the prohibitive is made by adding to the base *-īm-ā* (sg.) and *-īmā-ṭ* / *-īmā-ṛ* (pl.).

Sg.	Pl.	
guh-īm-ā	*guh-īmā-ṭ* / *guh-īmā*	'Do not seize!'

In the Koya dialect it is expressed by adding to the ifinitive of a verb *mā* (sg.) and *mā-ṭi* (pl.).

Sg.	Pl.	
vād-a mā	*vād-a mā-ṭi*	'Do not come!'
kett-a mā	*kett-a mā-ṭi*	'Do not tell!'

7.10. **Konda**

(i) IMPERATIVE: The sg. suffix is *-ʔa* and the pl. suffix /*-du* (~ *-ṟu* ~ *-ḍu*) ∞ *-tu*/; the distribution of the allomorphs of the pl. suffix is similar to that of the allomorphs of infinitive (see § 6.10.).

Sg.	Pl.	
ra-ʔa	*ra-du*	'Come!'
pand-ʔa	*pan-du*	'Plan(it)!'
nil-ʔa	*nin-ṟu*	'Stand!'
ven-ʔa	*ven-ṟu*	'Listen!'
son-ʔa	*son-ṟu*	'Go!'
uṇ-ʔa	*uṇ-ḍu*	'Drink!'

kol-ʔa	*koṇ-ḍu*	'Buy!'
ḍig-ʔa	*ḍig-du*	'Descend!'
veR-ʔa	*veR-tu*	'Tell!'

The following three bases have suppletive variants of -*ʔa* and -*du*.

	Sg.	Pl.	
ta-	*ta-ga*	*ta-ga-ṭ*	'Bring!'
si-/sī-	*si-da*	*si-da-ṭ*	'Give me !'
	si-ʔa	*si-du*	'Give to 3rd person!'
le-	*le-ʔe*	*le-du*	'Get up!'
**un-*	*un-da*	*un-da-ṭ*	'Take it!'

The historical explanation for the irregularity in the first two verbs has been given by T. Burrow in his foreword to Krishnamurti's book (1969b : xvi). He observes: "In dealing with the imperative of the Koṇḍa verb *sī-* 'to give' (p. 291) Dr. Krishnamurti notes a distinction between *siʔa* (sg.) and *sidu* (pl.) 'give to 3rd person', *sida, sidaṭ* 'give me'. A similar distinction between a general form and a special form used when the object is the first or second person is found throughout the verbal system in Pengo-Maṇḍa and Kui-Kuvi. The explanation must be that this system prevailed originally also in Koṇḍa, but that it has been dropped except in this instance. Another feature of the above languages is the use of a motion particle, as it is called by Winfield, which takes the form of -*ka*- or -*ga*- inserted between verb and termination, e.g., Pe. *ta*- 'bring' and *ta-ka*- 'go and bring'. In

Koṇḍa this appears in the imperative of the verb *ta–* 'to bring' (*taga*, *tagaṭ*) where it is the only form used, but so far as the evidence goes, nowhere else. Here again we must assume that Koṇḍa originally had the full system, but that it has been dropped except in this isolated case."

(ii) PROHIBITIVE: The prohibitive marker is *–ma–*; it is followed by sg. -∅ and pl. *-ṭ*.

ki–ma	*ki–ma–ṭ*	'Do not do!'
son-ma	*son–ma-ṭ*	'Do not go!'
ki–bis–ma	*ki-bis-ma–ṭ*	'Do not cause to do!'

7.11. Pengo

(i) IMPERATIVE: The suffix is *-a* in the singular and *–aṭ*, freely varying with *-aḍ* in the plural. After bases ending in a front vowel the glide *y* occurs between the two vowels; the glide *y* appears less commonly even after bases ending in other vowels. Whether a glide appears or not a base-final long vowel is always shortened before *a*. The pl. *-aṭ/–aḍ* has a variant *–ḍu* after the verbs *ta–* and *vā-* (the long vowel of the latter is shortened before it) and also optionally after *ā* when used as an auxiliary.

	Sg.	Pl.	
	gac–a	*gac–aṭ*	'Bind!'
	vit–a	*vīt–aṭ*	'Sow!'
	hiy–a	*hiy–aṭ*	'Give!'
(*ō*– :)	*o(y)–a*	*o(y)-aṭ*	'Take!'

(*ṛū-*:)	*ṛu(v)-a*	*ṛu(v)-aṭ*	'Plough!'
	hal-a	*hal-aḍ*	'Go!'
	ta(y)-a	*ta-ḍu*	'Bring!'
	va(y)-a	*va-ḍu*	'Come!'

The imperative sg. forms are strengthened by the addition of the particles *-de*, *-ṛe* and *-to*; before these the imperative form takes an additional *m*, e.g., *kiyamde* 'Do!' *tinamde* 'Eat !', *dumamṛe* 'Climb !', *kutamṛe* 'Take off!', *halamto* 'Go!'. Regarding the origin of this *m*, Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970: 71-72) note: "What remains when these particles are removed is an old imperative in *-m*, which is no longer used independently, but which is parallelled in some of the related languages, e.g., Kuvi *hīmu* 'give', *ḍikmu* 'break', etc. This strengthened termination is sometimes extended to the negative imperative: *inmamde* 'don't say', *japamamṛe* 'don't teach', and (with particle *-tā*) *uspamamta* 'don't put on (waist-cloth)!"

(ii) PROHIBITIVE : The prohibitive marker is *-ma-*; it is followed by sg. -Ø and pl. *-ṭ*.

Sg.	Pl.	
hī-ma	*hī-ma-ṭ*	'Do not give!'
ṛū-ma	*ṛū-ma-ṭ*	'Do not plough!'
vā-ma	*vā-ma-ṭ*	'Do not come!'

(iii) PERMISSIVE : It occurs in the 1st and the 3rd persons. The permissive suffix is *-e-* and the usual personal suffixes are added to it, e.g. *hal-e-ṅ* 'let me go!'.

	Sg.		Pl.
1.	*hal-e-ṅ*	(excl.)	*hal-e-p*
		(incl.)	*hal-e-s*
3m.	*hal-e-n*	m.	*hal-e-r*
non-m.	*hal-e-t*	f.	*hal-e-k*
		n.	*hal-e-ṅ*

In the negative permissive, the negative suffix *-m-* is added to the base and it is followed by the permissive *-e-* and the personal suffixes, e.g. *ṛū-m-e-n* 'let him not plough', *ṛū-m-e-r* 'let them not plough', *koṭ-m-e-t* 'let her not hoe', *vā-m-e-ṅ* 'let (the cows) not come'. Forms of the first person are not recorded, but they may exist, corresponding to those of the positive.

7.13. Kui

(i) IMPERATIVE: The singular suffix is *-mu* (∞ *-amu* ∞ *-umu*); *-amu* occurs after verbs of the 1st conjugation, *-umu* after verbs ending in *g*, *l*, *n* or *ṇ* of the 4th conjugation and *-mu* occurs elsewhere. The plural suffix is *-du* (∞ *-aṭu*); *-aṭu* occurs after verbs of the 1st conjugation and *-du* after the remaining verbs. Note the following sandhi changes.

1. $\begin{bmatrix} \bar{V}l_1 \\ Vl_2 \end{bmatrix} + du \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \bar{V}ḍu \\ Vju \end{bmatrix}$

2. $\begin{bmatrix} n \\ ṇ \end{bmatrix} + du \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} nju \\ nḍu \end{bmatrix}$

Sg.	Pl.	
ēnd-amu	*ēnd-aṭu*	'Dance!'
lāk-amu	*lāk-aṭu*	'Sacrifice!
kō-mu	*kō-du*	'Reap!'
trē-mu	*trē-du*	'Wander!'
nog-umu	*nog-du*	'Wash!'
sōl-umu	*sō-ḍu*	'Enter!'
sal-umu	*sa-ju*	'Go!'
uṇ-umu	*un-ḍu*	'Drink!'
tin-umu	*tin-ju*	'Eat!'
man-umu	*man-ju*	'Be!'

(iii) PROHIBITIVE : The structure is :

Base –*ˀa* (negative) – $\begin{cases} \text{sg. -}\emptyset \\ \text{pl. -}\textit{ṭu} \end{cases}$

Sg.	Pl.	
ēnd-ˀa	*ēnd-ˀa-ṭu*	'Do not dance!'
kō-ˀa	*kō-ˀa-ṭu*	'Do not reap!'
sōl-ˀa	*sol-ˀa-ṭu*	'Do not enter!'
tin-ˀa	*tin-ˀa-ṭu*	'Do not eat!'

7.14. Kuvi

(i) IMPERATIVE : The singular suffix is /*-amu* ∞ *-mu*/ and the plural suffix /*-adu* ∞ *-du*/. The second alternant of the forms given below is the special form.

Sg.	Pl.	
pāy-amu	*pāy-adu*	'Beat!'
hī-mu / *hīy-a-mu*	*hī-du* / *hīy-a-du*	'Give!'
tōh-mu / *tōs-t-amu*	*tōh-du* / *tōs-t-adu*	'Show!'
veʔ-mu / *ve-t-amu*	*veʔ-du* / *ve-t-adu*	'Beat!'
ḍik-mu / *ḍik-h-amu*	*ḍik-du* / *ḍik-h-adu*	'Break!'
ven-amu / *ven-j-amu*	*ven-ju* / *ven-j-adu*	'Listen!'

"Forms of the imperative singular in *-a* beside the usual forms in *-mu* occur. We recorded only two such forms, *reʔa* "pull" and *tina* "eat" but Schulze gives such forms as regular alternatives to the forms in *-mu* : *manna/mannamu*, *wāa/wāmu*, etc.

In the imperative plural an extended form in *-dunga* is given by Schulze: *manzunga* "be", *wādunga* "come". This appears to contain the same *-nga* which appears as the plural sign of nouns." (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1963: 259).

(ii) PROHIBITIVE : The structure is:

Base *-ʔa* (neg.) - { sg. *-ni* / pl. *-du* }

Sg.	Pl.	
pāy-ʔa-ni	*pāy-ʔa-du*	'Do not beat!'
hī-ʔa-ni	*hī-ʔa-du*	'Do not give!'

tōh-ʔa-ni / *tōs-t-ʔa-ni*	*tōh-ʔa-du* / *tōs-t-ʔa-du*	'Do not show!'
ven-ʔa-ni / *ven-j-ʔa-ni*	*ven-ʔa-du* / *ven-j-ʔa-du*	'Do not listen!'

In the prohibitive sg. Schulze quotes forms in *-aʔi* instead of the normal *-ʔani* : *kēpaʔi* 'do not do'.

7.15. Kolami

(i) IMPERATIVE: The singular suffix is -∅ and the plural suffix *-ur* (~ *-r*); *-r* occurs after stems endig in a vowel other than *i*, *ī* and *-ur* occurs elsewhere. In the Wardha dialect monosyllabic bases with a short vowel followed by *n* or *ḍ* lengthen the vowel before the sg. suffix.

Sg.	Pl.	
sī	*sī-ur*	'Give!'
tīn	*tin-ur*	'Eat!'
sasi	*sasi-ur*	'Leave!'
vā	*va-r*	'Come!'
mūḍ	*muḍ-ur*	'Talk!'
sē	*se-r*	'Go!'

(ii) PROHIBITIVE: The structure is:

Base *-ne* (neg.) - { sg. *-m* / pl. *-r*/(Adilabad) *-ḍ* }

Sg.	Pl.	
sī-ne-m	*sī-ne-r* / *sī-ne-ḍ*	'Do not give!'

tūl–ne–m	*tūl–ne–r* / *tūl–ne–ḍ*	'Do not run !'
tin–ne–m	*iin–ne–r* / *tin–ne–ḍ*	'Do not eat !'

7.16. **Naiki** (Ch.)

(i) Imperative: The singular suffix is ∅.

āṛ	'Play !'
ud	'Sit !'
sī	'Give !'

(ii) Prohibitive: The structure is:

Base *–ne* (negative)– { sg. *–m* / pl. *-r* }

Sg.	Pl.	
āṛ–ne–m	*āṛ–ne–r*	'Do not play !'
sen–ne–m	*sen–ne–r*	'Do not go !'
karug–ne–m	*karug–ne–r*	'Do not call !'

7.17. **Parji**

(i) Imperative: The suffix is sg. –∅ and pl. *–ur*. Verbs having alternate stems in *p*/*t* use the *p*-stem in this. In the 2nd sg. form the *p* is preceded by an auxiliary vowel *u* where necessary. In this form the Northern dialect contains *k* in the place of Southern *p*.

Sg.	Pl.	
cūṛ	*cūṛ–ur*	'See !'

(S) *cul-up*	} *cul-p-ur*		'Rise !'
(N) *cul-uk*			

(S) *nil-up*	} *nil-p-ur*		'Stand !'
(N) *nil-uk*			

(ii) PROHIBITIVE : The structure is —

Base - *m* (neg.) - { sg. *-en* / pl. *-or* }

The suffix *-m-* is preceded by an auxiliary vowel *e* in the sg. and *o* in the pl. where necessary.

Sg.	Pl.	
cūṛ-em-en	*cūṛ-om-or*	'Do not see !'
ven-m-en	*ven-m-or*	'Do not listen !'
(S) *culup-m-en*	*culup-m-or*	'Do not rise !'
(N) *culuk-m-en*	*culuk-m-or*	

"The forms of the 3rd person are patently composed of the relative participle negative of the verb concerned and the positive imperative of the verb *men-* 'to be', e.g., *vena menked* 'let him be not hearing', etc. The forms of the second person singular look also as if they may have been modified from forms of this kind (*cūṛemen* from **cūṛa-men*, and by analogy of the present *vermen* for **vera-men*), but the forms of the second person plural can hardly be explained in this way.

In one text from the South a form *tūlamoḍ* 'let us not run' occurs; it is the only form of the first person plural

recorded, and it is possibly the inclusive form." (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953 : 65)

7.18. Gadba (Ollari)

(i) IMPERATIVE: In verbs other than the causatives (having alternate stems ending in *p/t*) the base itself serves as the imperative without number distinction. Causatives in *p/t* use the *p-* stem in the imperative and after it, the sg. suffix is *-uṭ* and the pl. suffix is *-ur*.

Sg.	Pl.	
aṭ	*aṭ*	'Strike!'
sūṛ	*sūṛ*	'See!'
var	*var*	'Come!'
īlu-p-uṭ	*īlu-p-ur*	'Make to fall!'
unḍu-p-uṭ	*unḍu-p-ur*	'Make to drink!'
nagu-p-uṭ	*nagu-p-ur*	'Make to laugh!'

(ii) PROHIBITIVE: The suffix is *-men*.

sūṛ-men 'Do not see!'

kōp-men 'Do not tend (cattle)!'

sen-men 'Do not go!'

7.19. Kurux

(i) IMPERATIVE: The suffix is *-ā*, in the feminine and neuter it has the variant *-ai* and when women speak to women it has the variant *-ē*.

es?-ā
es?-ai } 'Break!'
es?-ē

A polite imperative is formed with the suffix *-kē* or *kō* (male) or *-ko?e* (female).

bar?-ke
bar?-kō } 'Come (if you please)!'
bar?-ko?e

-kō and -ko?e are added to *-kē* also, e.g. *bar?-kē kō*, *bar?-kē ko?e*.

The imperative may be intensified by adding the imperatives of *xac-* 'to complete' or *cap-* 'to fulfil'.

The future may also be used as an imperative, *ēn āndan īdin nīn es?oe* 'I tell you, you will (have to) break this'. Likewise the subjunctive is used as an imperative, *ār īdin es?narnekkā* 'may they break this'.

(ii) Prohibitive: *ambā* (fem. *ambai*, *ambē*) is prefixed. Another negative particle is *argā*, *argī* 'not yet'. The prohibitive *ambā* is also inflected, e.g. *ās ambdas bardas nekk?ā* 'he shall not come'. In a similar way *argā* 'not yet' may be conjugated, in which case the verb itself is put in the infinitive ending in *-ā*, e.g. *ās argas barā* 'he has not come'.

7.20. Malto

(i) Imperative: The suffix is *-a*; *-ku* is the suffix for polite imperative.

band-a } 'Draw!'
band-ku

7.21. Brahui

(i) IMPERATIVE: The singular suffix is ∅, but a large number of verbs including those ending in a double consonant or in a consonant cluster take *-a* or *-e* as the suffix. Also there is free variation between the suffixes in some cases. Verbs with the ∅ suffix form a strengthened imperative with the suffix *-ak*, e.g. *bin-ak*, *bis-ak*.

The plural suffix is *-bo;* it has a variant *-ibo*/*-abo* after verbs that take *-a* or *-e* in the sg.

Sg.	Pl.	
bin	*bim-bo*	'Hear!'
kun	*kum-bo*	'Eat!'
bis	*bis-bo*	'Bake!'
ḍakk-a	*ḍakk-ibo*	'Hide!'
sal-e	*sal-ibo* / *sal-bo* / *salī-bo*	'Stand!'
ḍal / *ḍal-a*	*ḍal-bo* / *ḍal-ibo*	'Gnaw!'

(ii) PROHIBITIVE: The structure is:

Base - *pa* (*-fa-* neg.) - { sg. -∅ / pl. *-bo* }

bis-pa	*bis-pa-bo*	'Do not bake !'
tūl-pa	*tūl-pa-bo*	'Do not sit !'
ba-fa	*ba-fa-bo*	'Do not come !'
ti-fa	*ti-fa-bo*	'Do not give !'

COMPARATIVE STUDY

7.22. Imperative Singular

In most of the languages the base itself functions as the imperative sg. without any overt marker. In the Wardha dialect of Kolami monosyllabic bases containing a short vowel and ending in *n* and *ḍ* lengthen their vowel in this form, e.g. *tīn* 'eat' (: PDr. *tin*), *sūḍ* 'cook' (: PDr. *cuṭu*); it is an innovation in this dialect.

Gondi, Konḍa, Pengo and some dialects of Kuvi contain *-a* as the suffix; it can be reconstructed to the Proto-Gondi-Kuvi stage. Kuṛux-Malto also contain the suffix *-a* and it occurs in a large number of verbs in Brahui also. The three North Dravidian languages also share the polite or strengthened imperative with the suffix **-kk* in the sg.

Parji and Gadba (Ollari) share an innovation in the case of verbs having alternate stems in *p/t*. In both the languages, the second person sg. form is identical with the *p*-ending stem. Moreover, in the Northern dialect of Parji *k* appears in the place of Southern *p*. It is clear that the *k* and *p* here are non-past stem formatives (see § 3.23, 24.). The extension of these formatives to the imperative paradigms (on

the analogy of the non-past paradigms) must be a secondary development since, in these verbs, the sister languages simply show the bare base without any formative in this form, e g. Pa. *nilu-p*/ *nilu-k* : PDr. **nil*, etc.

In Old Tamil the 2nd sg. imperative form which in most cases is identical with the verb base also takes the personal suffix *-āy* optionally.[1] It is clear that here the personal suffix is added on the analogy of the pl. imperative forms with the pl. pronominal suffix *-īr*. Alternatively, though less convincingly, we may say that the 2nd sg and the pl. forms of the negative paradigm are used as polite imperatives implying request (note that the commentator *Iḷampūraṇar* considers *ceyy-āy*, etc. as negative forms used imperatively). Such a usage is found in other Dravidian languages also, e.g. Old Telugu *vinavē*/*vinarē* 'Won't you (sg./pl.) hear, please listen!', *rāvē*/*rārē* 'Won't you (sg./pl.) come, please come!', also modern Telugu, *veḷḷavū*/*veḷḷarū* 'Don't you (sg./pl.) go, please go!' with a rising intonation.

The languages of the Telugu-Kuvi group show a very interesting development. In many of these languages, namely Old Telugu, Goṇḍi (including Koya), Kui and Kuvi (dialectally) **m(u)* appears as the sg. suffix. In Old Telugu it is optional in all positions except when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. In spoken Telugu there is no suffix

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1. *ceyyāy eṉṉu muṉṉilai viṉaiccol*
cey eṉ kiḷaviy ākiṭaṉ uṭaittē.
(*Tolkāppiyam*, *Collatikaram*, *sutra* 450.)

"The second person sg. verb of the paradigm *ceyyāy* as *cey* also."

for the imperative sg. but the form when followed by the verb *anu* 'to say' takes an additional *-am*. Obviously the Old Telugu *-m(u)* is preserved in this construction of spoken Telugu. In the majority of the Goṇḍi dialects *m* appears after verbs of the (C)$\bar{V}$ type but in Koya it has a wider distribution and occurs after stems of the types (C)$\breve{\bar{V}}$ and (C)VC. As in spoken Telugu, in Pengo also an additional *m* appears in the imperative sg. forms before the particles *-de*, *-ṛe* and *-to* though it does not occur otherwise; this also suggests that at some stage in Pengo *m* was occurring as the imperative sg. suffix in all positions. It will be shown below (§7.23.) that originally (i.e., in Proto-Dravidian) **m* was the imperative plural suffix. It must therefore be assumed that in the Telugu-Kuvi group it was transfered to the imperative sg. probably because of the creation of a new pl. suffix in this group. However it has not taken firm grounding as the sg. suffix in this group. Thus, in Old Telugu it is optional (except before a vowel; completely lost in spoken Telugu except in one construction); in Goṇḍi (and Koya) it is present only in a few verb classes, in Kuvi it survives only in one dialect; it is completely absent in Koṇḍa; in **Kui** also it does not occur in the negative imperative and in Pengo only traces of it survive before the particles. All these are indications that it does not originally belong to the singular.

7.23. Imperative Plural

There is ample evidence in the various groups of the daughter languages to reconstruct **-(u/i)m* as the imperative pl. suffix for Proto-Dravidian. In Old Tamil *-miṉ* (<*m+iṉ*)

occurs as the imperative pl. suffix while forms with *m* (optionally followed by the clitic *ē* or *ō*) function as imperative sg. as well as pl; the usage of the latter in the sg. may be the result of the extension of the pl. form as honorific sg. Modern Tamil employs *-*uṅkaḷ* (< *-*um-kaḷ*) as the imperative pl. suffix. In the Southern and the Ceylon dialects of Tamil *-um* itself (without *-kaḷ*) is used besides *-uṅkaḷ* as the honorific sg. imperative suffix; in these dialects *-um* forms denote first degree respect and are used while talking to an intimate friend or an elderly person of the inferior castes while forms with *-uṅkaḷ* denote full respect and are used as full honorific singulars or plurals (these dialects contain *nīr* 'you' as honorific sg. pronoun, corresponding to the imperative forms with *-um* besides *nīṅkaḷ* which means 'you (pl.)' or 'you (sg.)' with full respect). Old Malayalam imperative pl. suffix *-vin* (∞ *-ppin*) is not related to Old Ta. *-miṉ* but seems to contain the future tense suffix.

In Kota the imperative pl. suffix is *-m*. Old Kannaḍa also contains *- im;* the *i* in the modern dialect is most probably from old *-im* by the loss of final *m*.

It will be shown below that Old Telugu *-uṇḍu* < *-*um-ṭ-*; therefore this also was originally containing the *-um*. In Gonḍi and Koya *m* occurs as the imperative suffix in a few classes of verbs. The *b* in the Brahui suffix *-bo* may be the reflex of original *m* (there is evidence for Br. *b* < **m* before a front vowel, see Bh. Krishnamurti 1969a; it is possible that in pre-Brahui the vowel after *m* might be a front vowel). All this evidence points to the fact that in Proto-Dravidian *-*(u/i)m* was the imperative pl. suffix. The

second person pl. pronoun has to be reconstructed as having two variants **nīm* and **nīr* for Proto–Dravidian (see Subrahmanyam 1968, §§ 22-26); of these two * *nīm* is older and the reconstructed imperative pl. suffix corresponds to it. A few of the languages have the imperative pl. suffix corresponding to **nīr*; they are Old Tamil *-īr*. Toda *-s̱*, Koḍagu *–iri*, Kannaḍa *–ìri*, Kolami-Parji *–ur*; all these look to PDr. *-*(u/i)r*.

In Tuḷu the imperative sg. suffix is *–la* (free variant ∅) and the pl. suffix is *–le* (free variant *i* probably < **-im* as in Kannaḍa). This construction in origin may be verbal noun with *–al* + *ā*(*ku*)*m* 'it will become', e.g. Tu. *ba-la* (sg), *ba-le*(pl.) 'come !' <*var–al ā*(*ku*)*m* (cf. Ta. *var–alām* 'one can/may come'). The pl. form in Tuḷu must be a later innovation. Ramaswami Aiyar in his "Tuḷu verb" thinks that originally the verb *ol* 'to be possible, fit, to desire' (*DED* 846) is involved in this construction.

A new imperative pl. suffix has entered into the languages of the Telugu - Kuvi group. The suffixes in these languages are given below.

(Old) Telugu	*–uṇḍu*
Goṇḍi	*-ā–*(~ *-m–*) + *t*
Koya	*-ā–* (~ *-mū-*)+ *-ṭi*(~ *-ṭu*)
Koṇḍa	*-du* (~ *-ḍu*~*-ṟu*)
Pengo	*-aṭ*/*-aḍ*
Kui	*-aṭu* ∞ *-du*(~*ḍu* ~ *-ju*)
Kuvi	*-adu* ∞ *-du* (~ *-ju*)

The suffix is reconstructable as *ṭ with a variant *t; while Kui contains both the variants, Koṇḍa and Kuvi contain only the dental (the former contains the retroflex in the prohibitive) and the remaining languages only the retroflex. (In Koṇḍa, Kui and Kuvi the dental is changed to the retroflex or the alveolar stop (originally) after verbs ending in a retroflex or alveolar nasal or lateral). Kui seems to preserve the original situation in the retention of both the variants; the other languages seem to have generalized one of the variants at the expense of the other. For the conditioning of the two variants also, we must depend only on the evidence of Kui.

A comparison of the Telugu and the Gonḍi suffixes will indicate that Te. *-uṇḍu* is from original **-um+ṭ*,[2] e.g.

		Sg.	Pl.	
(i)	Gonḍi	*sī-m*	*sī-m-ṭ*	'Give!'
	Koya	*i-mu*	*ī-mū-ṭu*	"
	Telugu	*i-mmu*	*i-ṇḍu* (*<*i-m-ṭ*)	"

2. Bh. Krishnamurti (1961:267f) thinks that the suffix in this group "is historically **tu* with several sandhi alternants." But the Kui evidence makes it clear that *ṭ* cannot be a mere sandhi alternant of *t* since *-aṭu* occurs after numerous verbs that do not end in a retroflex consonant. Also his explanation of Te. *-uṇḍu*, "It is likely that in pre-Telugu **-tu (-du)*, occurring after *n-* final bases as **-nṯu/ *-nḏu* (> Te. *-ṇḍu*), was carried over to rest of the system by analogical leveling." is not convincing because verbs ending in *n* are very few in Telugu and the spread of analogy from a minor subclass to the whole system is rather uncommon. Even if this is accepted, the imperative pl. forms of such verbs would be *tiṇḍu* (<**tin-ṯ* : *tin-* 'to eat'), etc. but the actual forms in the language are only *tin-uṇḍu*, etc.

(ii) Goṇḍi *kī-m* *kī-m-ṭ* 'Do!'

Telugu *cēy-umu* *cēy-uṇḍu* (< *cēy-um-ṭ*) "

In Gondi and Koya the sequence *-m-ṭ* (*-mū-ṭu*) occurs only in a few verb classes while in Telugu the corresponding *-uṇḍu* resulting from the assimilation of *m* to the following retroflex and the voicing of *ṭ*) occurs after all verbs. The evidence from the Southern languages shows that **m* occurs as the imperative pl. suffix after all verbs and in this matter Telugu preserves the original situation while in Goṇḍi and Koya *-aṭ* has replaced the original *m* in a large number of verbs and has been annexed to the *m* only in a few verb classes. Between Goṇḍi and Koya, the latter preserves the *m* in a greater number of verb classes and thus seems to represent the original situation more faithfully. Because of the new pl. suffix the original pl. forms with **m* alone have been shifted to the singular in Telugu, Goṇḍi, Pengo (this can be inferred on the basis of internal reconstruction), Kui and Kuvi (dialectally). The same development might have occurred in Koṇḍa also followed by the loss of the *m* as in modern Telugu, Pengo and Kuvi. If this is true, this shifting of the original pl. form to the sg. will be a shared innovation in this group. The process seems to involve the principle of making as the sg. form whatever remains after removing the suffix *-ṭ* of the pl. form at least in Telugu and Goṇḍi. It must be recalled that in Goṇḍi by a similar process the original 2nd person pl. pronoun *nimmē/immā* (<**nīm*; *DED* 3041) has been shifted as the 2nd person sg. pronoun after the addition of the new pl. suffix **ṭ* (*nimeṭ* / *immaṭ* 'you (pl.)'; *DED* 3055) to it. It is to be noted that in Kolami and Naiki (Ch.)

also *-m* occurs as the sg. suffix and *-ḍ* as the pl. suffix (the later in the Adilabad dialect) in the prohibitive. Geographical contact between Gonḍi and these languages seem to be responsible for the occurrence of these suffixes in them.

Kuṛux and Malto seem to have lost the number distinction in the imperative. They and Brahui, however, have a imperative with the suffix **k* (>Kur. *kē*, *kō*, Malt. *-ku*, Br. *-ak*). This construction goes back to the PNDr. stage.

7.24. Optative

In many of the South Dravidian languages the optative with the suffix **-ka* (∞ **-kka* in strong verbs) occurs. They are Old Tamil, Malayalam, Old Kannaḍa and Tuḷu. The polite imperative of Malayalam and the hortative of Tuḷu are related to the original optative. It is most probable that the optative in origin is simply the infinitive; it has been observed that the infinitive, when used as a predicate functions as the imperative in many of the languages (see § 6.23(v)). In Tamil–Malayalam as far as the strong verbs are concerned, the infinitive and the optative forms are identical with each other; in weak verbs, however, the optative suffix is *-ka* while the infinitive suffix is *-a*. Therefore it may be assumed that *-ka* has been created at a later stage as the optative suffix on the model of the optative in the strong verbs. That the infinitive and the optative are interrelated is further supported by the fact that in Old Tamil the form with the suffix *-iya*, *-iyar* functions both as infinitive and optative. The modern Kannḍa optative with *-ali* may be the verbal noun with suffix *-al* in origin. Old Telugu *gāka* added to the future verb forms is an optative in origin.

The syntactic construction: Infinitive + *vēṇṭum* 'it is necessary'/*vēṇṭā*' 'it is not necessary' meaning '(one) must/must not Verb' is characteristically South Dravidian. It occurs in Tamil-Malayalam, Kodagu, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu. In modern Tamil, modern Malayalam, Koḍagu (*-oṇḍu/-aṇḍa*) and Tuḷu (*-oḍu/-oḍci*) the two parts of the construction fused together into a single word (Kannaḍa *bēku* 'it is necessary' < Old *bēḻ-kum; bēḻ* is related to Ta. Ma. *vēḷ*, *vēṇṭ-*). Same is the case with the corresponding Telugu construction: Old *cepp-a* 'to tell' *valayunu* it is necessary' >Mod. *cepp-āli* '(one) must tell'. The Tamil-Malayalam and Tuḷu forms with the suffix, Ta. *-aṭṭum*, Ma *-aṭṭē*, Tu. *-aḍī* seem to be interrelated.

Gonḍi (along with Koya) and Pengo contain a potential or permissive construction implying command to the 3rd person (this construction of Pengo has forms in the 1st person also).

7.25. Use of Future Tense Forms as Imperatives

In many of the Dravidian languages the future tense forms are sometimes used imperatively. In Old Tamil the 2nd sg. of the future tense type with the suffix *t* (∞ *tt*) is used in the the imperative sense. Old Malayalam imperative pl. with *-vin* (∞ *-ppin*) also contains the future tense suffix; the aorists with *-vū* (∞ *-pū*) are used imperatively. The Toda permissives with *-ku* (< **-kk-um;* cf. the Kannaḍa 3rd person future tense forms, § 3.6(iii)) and optatives with *-mo* (< **-um*) may originally be the future tense forms with *-um*. In Old Malayalam, Kannaḍa and Telugu the neut. sg. future participial nouns are used as imperatives, e.g. Ma. *koṭu-pp-atu/-ūtu;*

Ka. *ī-v-udu*, Te. *iccu-n-adi* 'give'. In Old Telugu the optative suffixes *-eḍun/-tan* may be future suffixes in origin. In modern Telugu the 2nd person forms of old future tense are used imperatively by lengthening the final vowel or by adding the clitic *gāni*, e.g. (sg.) *cēd-dū/ cēd-du(-vu) gāni* (<Old *cēyu-du (-vu)*), (pl.) *cēd-du-rū/cēd-du-ru gāni* (<Old *cēyu-du-ru*) 'you will/may do.'

The hortative of Kui, the permissive of Kuvi, the permissive of Kolami, the imperative (non-2nd person) and potential[3] of Parji are all future tense forms in origin as evidenced by their suffixes which resemble the non-past suffixes (see Chapter 3).

The hortative forms (implying command) in Kannaḍa, Telugu, Kui, Kolami, Kuvi, Koya and Pengo are future tense forms with the 1st person incl. pl. suffix.

It is interesting to note that in Kuṛux also the future tense forms are used as imperatives. The use of the future tense forms as imperatives may be a universal phenomenon in the world languages.

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3. The Parji potential with the suffix *-(u)t-* closely resembles the habitual tense with the suffix *-du-* of Old Telugu, e.g. *cūṛ-ut-um* 'we (excl.) may see' (Old Te. *cūcu-du-mu / cū-tu-mu* 'we (excl.) will see'), *tin-t-um* 'we (excl.) will eat' (Old Te. *tin-du-mu* 'we (excl.) will eat'), *cī-t-ur* 'you (pl.) should give' (Old Te. *i-tt-uru* you (pl.) will give'). The Old Telugu forms are used imperatively also; in this sense they are optionally followed by the optative word *gāka*.

7.26. Prohibitive (Singular and Plural)

All the Dravidian languages excepting Tuḷu[4] and Kuṛux-Malto contain a morphological construction for the prohibitive. In most of the languages its structure is:

$$\text{Base} - \text{Negative} - \left\{ \begin{matrix} 2\ \text{sg.} \\ 2\ \text{pl.} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Although this much similarity is there in the sister languages, the suffixes, particularly that of the negative cannot be uniformly reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian. Therefore it is doubtful whether this construction actually belongs to the proto-stage. However the suffixes show considerable similarity within the languages of the various subgroups.

In South Dravidian, Tamil, Kota and Koḍagu show the negative suffix in this as **-āt(t)-*; the person-number suffixes in them are also identical, viz., sg *-i*, pl. *-īm* (> Koḍ. *i*). This evidence is sufficient to reconstruct this construction to Proto-Tamil-Koḍagu. For want of evidence in Kannaḍa and Tuḷu, it cannot claim its existence in Proto-South Dravidian. However, Old Tamil and Old Kannaḍa agree with each other in having another prohibitive construction with negative *al* followed by sg. -Ø and pl. *-ir*, *-mi<u>n</u>* (Ta.) / *im* (Ka.). This has a better claim to be the Proto-South Dravidian prohibitive construction; the *al* in this is most

4. Although the Tuḷu construction is at present morphological, it is in origin a syntactic construction consisting of the infinitive plus **vēṇṭ-ā* 'it is not necessary'. The pl. form with the suffix *-e* of it must be a later development created after the original construction contracted into the present-day sg. form.

probably the negative base *al-* 'to be not so-and-so' (*DED* 198) functioning in this as a suffix.[5] As noted already, the syntactic construction: infinitive + *vēṇṭ-ā* 'it is not necessary' is also a South Dravidian construction. In modern Kannaḍa the morphological prohibitive construction of Old Kannaḍa is lost.

In Telugu the negative suffix in the prohibitive is *-aku-*; this contains an additional *k* after *a* which is the negative suffix in the finite forms. This *-k-* in Telugu and the additional *t* (*tt*) in the prohibitive construction of Tamil, Kota and Koḍagu may be non-past suffixes in orgin (see§§ 3.24,25). The negative adverbs in South Dravidian and Telugu similarly contain additional *t* (*tt*) and *k* respectively (§ 4.27); it has been suggested that they are past suffixes in origin. Since the past suffixes are out of place in the prohibitive construction these consonants must be explained as non-past suffixes although the same consonants that appear in the negative adverbs in these languages are explained as past suffixes in origin. The use of future tense forms as imperatives in many languages also lends support for the theory that these consonants in the prohibitive are non-past suffixes in origin,

5. In Old Tamil the form with verb base followed by *-al* is ambiguous since it may mean both imperative and prohibitive, e.g.

payaṉil col pārāṭṭuvāṉai makaṉ enal [1]
makkaṭ pataṭi eṉal. [2] (*Tirukkuṟaḷ* 196)

"*Do not call* [1] him who says useless words man; *call* [2] (him) chaff of human beings."

However, the imperative form with *-al* is the verbal noun used imperatively and in the prohibitive form the *-al* is identical with the negative base *al-* 'to be not so-and-so'.

cf. Old Ta. *ceṉ-ṟ-i* 'you (sg.) will go, go!' and the corresponding prohibitive *cell-ā-t-i* 'do not go!'. Since the *t* in the former is clearly a non-past suffix, the *t* in the prohibitive must also be a non-past suffix in origin.

Goṇḍi, Koṇḍa and Pengo agree with one another in having *mā* as the negative suffix in the prohibitive followed by 2 sg. -Ø and pl. -*ṭ*. It is to be suspected whether this is a syntactic construction in origin with infinitive followed by *mā*, *mā*-*ṭ* since Koya contains the syntactic construction.

The negative suffixes in the prohibitive constructions of Kui-Kuvi (-*ʔa*) and Brahui (-*pa*-) are the same as those in the finite forms of these languages.

In Kolami-Naiki prohibitive the negative suffix is -*ne*- while it is -*e*- in the finite forms; the additional *n* in the former is most probably the non-past suffix **n* (§ 3.27).

In Parji-Gadba prohibitive the negative suffix is *m*; is this related to the *mā* in the Goṇḍi-Koṇḍa-Pengo prohibitive? The 2nd sg. suffix -*en* of Parji-Gadba prohibitive is peculiar although the 2nd pl. -*or* of Parji is the same as the -*ur* in the imperative of it (ultimately form 2nd pl. *-*īr*).

7.27. Conclusion

1. In Dravidian the verb base itself functions as imperative sg. The imperative pl. contains the suffix *-(*i*/*u*)*m*, or rarely *-*īr* added to the base.

2. A new pl. suffix **ṭ* (variant **t*) has entered into the languages of the Telugu–Kuvi group particularly in the imperative. Therefore the original pl. forms with **-(i/u)m* have become sg. forms in this group. The Telugu imperative pl. suffix *-uṇḍu* < **-um-ṭ* as evidenced by Goṇḍi (and Koya).

3. The optative with the suffix *-ka* (∞ *-kka*) is a South Dravidian Construction; it may be the infinitive in origin.

4. Use of future tense forms as imperatives is widespread in Dravidian as in other world languages.

5. A morphological construction for the prohibitive is common in Dravidian. The negative and person number suffixes in this, however, show close agreement only within the languages of the various sub-subgroups.

APPENDIX

SUBGROUPS IN DRAVIDIAN

0. Introduction

The problem of determining the interrelationships of the languages of the Dravidian family has drawn the attention of scholars since the beginning of the comparative Dravidian studies. Robert Caldwell himself has led the way in this aspect of the study also; he observed, for example, that Tamil and Malayalam "are most nearly related" (p.40), that "the farthest removed from each other are Tamil and Telugu" (p.41) and that Tuḷu "differs far more widely from Malayāḷam than Malayāḷam does from Tamil. It differs widely, but not so widely, from Canarese; still less so from Coorg. The dialect from which it differs most widely is Tamil." (p.32) Sten Konow (1906:283-85) also attempted the classification of the languages indicating the points of similarity among the various languages. His classification of the languages into the Tamil-group and the Telugu-group may be said to be the harbinger to the establishment of the South Dravidian and the Central Dravidian subgroups later. However, a more systematic and thorough discussion of the problem started only round about the beginning of the 1950's as noted by Bh. Krishnamurti (1969c:325). The ground for this has been set by the publication of detailed descriptive studies of Kolami, Parji and some of the other non-literary languages and by the commencement of the scientific study of the Dravidian Comparative Phonology by Burrow in a series of papers.

It is now accepted on all fours that there are three major subgroups in Dravidian, namely, South Dravidian, Central Dravidian and North Dravidian. (The term 'South Dravidian' (including Telugu also) is already used by Ramaswami Aiyar (1938b) and Burrow (1940, 1947); 'Central Dravidian' by T. Burrow (1947) and 'North(ern) Dravidian' by Sir Denys S. Bray (1934:20).)

The languages of the South Dravidian subgroup are: Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu, Kota, Toda, Kannaḍa (Baḍaga dialect) and Tuḷu. Of these, the unity of Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu Kota, Toda and Kannaḍa has been recognised long since. M. B. Emeneau (1957) showed that Toda and Kota are closer to Tamil-Malayalam than to Kannaḍa although the contrary view was held by the earlier scholars. L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar (1928b) was the first to note that Koḍagu is closer to Tamil–Malayalam rather than to Kannaḍa. Although Tuḷu was regarded to be a South Dravidian language by many scholars, recently Bh. Krishnamurti (1961:272) stated that: "There seems to be considerable justification for considering Tu. as an independent off-shoot of PCDr." and M. B. Emeneau (1967:365), while admitting that the position of Tuḷu can be determined only after the availability of good evidence on the language and its dialects, accepts the "generally held opinion" that Tuḷu is not a South Dravidian language and adds that the formation of the past tense in it bears this out. After a detailed comparative study of the phonology and morphology of Tuḷu, P. S. Subrahmanyam (1968c) arrived at the conclusion that Tuḷu is a member of the South Dravidian subgroup and that the differences

between it and the other South Dravidian languages are largely due to the fact that it first branched off from Proto-South Dravidian. The interrelationships of the South Dravidian languages, excluding Tuḷu are discussed in detail in Emeneau's 1967 paper.

The languages of the Central Dravidian subgroup are: Telugu, Gonḍi, Konḍa, Pengo, Manḍa, Kui, Kuvi, Kolami (Naikṛi dialect), Naiki (Ch.), Parji and Gadba (Ollari and Salur dialects). Earlier Telugu was regarded as in some manner ambivalent, showing some features in common with South Dravidian as a whole or in part and others in common with Central Dravidian. Bh. Krishnamurti (1961, chapter IV) demonstrated conclusively that: "The weight of comparative evidence discussed in some detail in this chapter is in favour of considering Telugu as an off-shoot of the Central Dravidian branch of Proto-Dravidian with very intimate genetic relationship with the Kui-(Kuvi)-Konḍa sub-group. Since it has also several exculsive features in common with South Dravidian in phonology rather than in morphology, it may be considered that Telugu has been in intimate geographical contact with the members of South Dravidian from a very remote past. The morphological evidence puts it rather conclusively with Central Dravidian." (p. 269). That Kolami, Naiki, Parji and Gadba constitute a subgroup was first indicated by T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya (1953 : xi) and the full evidence was presented by M. B. Emeneau (1955, chapter X). Burrow and Bhattacharya (*ibid.*) have also indicated that "there are also many signs of special connection between Gondi-Konḍa and Kui-Kuvi". The important isoglosses of shared innovations in the Central Dravidian

languages along with a discussion of the interrelationships of them are presented in P. S. Subrahmanyam's 1961 paper.

The languages of the North Dravidian subgroup are: Kurux, Malto and Brahui. That Kurux and Malto are very intimately connected is known even at the time of Caldwell. He (p. 36) states: "This tradition of the original identity of the Mālers and the Orāons is borne out by the evident affinity of their languages and as Colonel Dalton mentions, by the similarity of their customs." Although Caldwell noticed that Brahui "contains not only some Dravidian words but a considerable infusion of distinctively Dravidian forms and idioms", he did not include it in the Dravidian family "because the Dravidian element contained in it bears but a small portion to the rest of its component elements". (p.39) Denys S. Bray (1909:8-19; 1934:15-21) after a somewhat detailed comparative study of the phonology and morphology of the language concludes that: "There can be but one verdict on this evidence. This verdict is not that of Caldwell, who summed up his final position in the words "The Brahui language, considered as a whole, seems to be derived from the same source as the Panjabi and Sindhi, but it evidently contains a Dravidian element", but the converse, first suggested by Lassen in the early days of the study of the language and reasserted by Trumpp a quarter of a century ago. The Brahui language is sprung from the source as the Dravidian language group." He (1934:20) also noted: "Thus the phonetic and etymological evidences converge towards Brāhūī's special affinity with the northerly Dravidian languages, which was the conclusion enunciated by Professor J. Bloch some time ago on morphological grounds." M. B. Emeneau

(1962, chapter V) collected the full evidence for the establishment of the North Dravidian subgroup.

The characteristic features including shared innovations and shared retentions (in morphology) of each of the three major subgroups and the sub-subgroups are presented in the following paragraphs. The evidence for interrelationships of the individual languages within the subgroups is also furnished.

1. South Dravidian

The following are the characteristic features of the South Dravidian subgroup:

(i) LOSS OF INITIAL *c-:[1]

1. Ta. *aḷai*, Ka. *aḷe*, Tu. *aḷɛ*, *alɛ* : Te. *calla* 'buttermilk'. (1992)
2. Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. *āṟu*, Ko. *ār*, To. *ōṟ*, Koḍ. *ārï*, Tu. *āji*: Go. *sārūṅ* 'six'. (2051)
3. Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. Tu. *uppu*, Ko. To. *up*, Koḍ. *uppï* : Kol. *sup*, Pa. *cup* 'salt' (2201).
4. Ta. *ulai*, Ma. *ula*, Ko. e*lkāl*, To. *was̱* Ka. Koḍ. *ole*. Tu. *ule* : Konḍa *sol* (2337).

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1. Telugu also shows this change (see T. Burrow 1968: 150-57). Since Telugu shares numerous isoglosses with the other Central languages and it is by now clear that it belongs to the Central Dravidian subgroup, the similarity between Telugu and South Dravidian in this respect must be interpreted as due to areal convergence.

(ii) SPLITTING OF PDR. **u* INTO *u* AND *ï* :

In Tamil, Malayalam (in some dialects), Koḍagu and Tuḷu the enunciative vowel is the back unrounded vowel, *ï*. It is an allophone of *u* in Tamil-Malayalam but attained phonemic status in Tuḷu and Koḍagu due to some other changes in the structure of those languages. In many of the Kannaḍa dialects also the unrounded *ï* occurs (as a phoneme) although it is absent in standard Kannaḍa. All final vowels except *i* are lost in Kota-Toda. Since the unrounded vowel does not occur in the non-SDr. languages that have the enunciative vowel, this can be taken as a characteristic feature of the SDr. subgroup. That is, we can assume that PDr. **u* developed an unrounded allophone *ï* in word-final position (orginally only after words ending in a stop) in the PSDr. period and it is retained by all the SDr. languages excepting standard Kannaḍa where it merged with *u*.

(iii) OPERATION OF *i*/*e* AND *u*/*o* ALTERNATION :

Before a derivative suffix beginning with **-a*, Old Tamil and Malayalam contain in the root (apart from *a*) only *i* and *u* (but not *e* and *o*) and the rest of the SDr. languages and (Old) Telugu *e* and *o* (but not *i* and*u*); in colloquial Tamil and some dialects of Malayalam only earlier *i* and *u* again change to *e* and *o*. In Tuḷu some dialects contain the high vowels while others contain the mid vowels before **-a*. The forms with mid vowels (in some of the dialects) seem to be due to the influence of Kannaḍa.

It is highly probable that in Kannaḍa original high vowels became mid vowels because of the following low vowel **a* through assimilation; this tendency later spread from it to Telugu, which is contiguous to it. On the other hand, original mid vowels changed to the corresponding high vowels before **-a* in Tamil-Malayalam. It is a significant fact that originally forms with the high vowels followed by *a* are more in number than those with the mid vowels followed by *a*. The structural pressure seems to be responsible for the change of mid vowels to high vowels in Tamil-Malayalam; this explanation seems to be more convincing than the usual explanation given for this process, namely, dissimilation of *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* before the low vowel *a* (note that in Ta. Ma. *peyar* 'name', *e* has not changed to *i* because of the existence of a variant of it with *ē*, i.e. *pēr* and that in Ta. Ma. *toṭaṅku* 'to begin', *toṭar* 'to continue' the *o* has remained unchanged because of their association with *toṭu* 'to touch'). It is probable that in Tuḷu also original mid vowels changed to high vowels before **-a* as in Ta.-Ma. because of structural pressure. In Kota-Toda and Koḍagu also only the mid vowels appear before **-a*; they might have followed the trend in later Tamil or possibly might have been influenced by Kannaḍa. The question of geographically contiguous languages simultaneously undergoing shifts in opposite directions does not arise here since there is no direct proof that the changes in Ta.-Ma. and Ka.(-Te.) took place at the same time.

1. Ta. *ciṟai* 'prison, tank', Ma. *ciṟa* 'tank', Ko. *ker*, To. *keṟ* 'party, side', Koḍ *kere* 'tank', Ka. *keṟe*, Tu. *kerε*, *kirε*, *kedu*, Te. *ceṟa* 'prison', *ceṟuvu* 'tank' (1648; **keṯ-*).

2. Ta. *tuṭai* 'to wipe', Ma. *tuṭe*, Ka. *toḍe*, Tu. *toḍepu-*, *tuḍepu-*, Te. *tuḍucu* (2703; **tuṭ-*).

3. Ta. *pukai* 'smoke', Ma. *puka*, Ko. *peg*, To. *pax*, Ka. Koḍ. *poge*, Tu. *pugɛ*, *pogɛ*, Te. *poga*, Go. *pōyā* (3483; **pōk-*/**pok-*V).

4. Ta. *vilai* 'price', *vil* 'to sell', Ma. *vila*, Ko. *vel*, To. *pīl* Ka. Koḍ. *bele*, Tu. *bilɛ*, *belɛ*, Te. *vela* (4448; **vil-*).

(iv) Creation of the Feminine Category :

In all the South Dravidian languages there are separate demonstrative pronouns and the corresponding finite verbs for the feminine category with the suffix *-āḷ*, *-aḷ* (< **āḷ* 'woman' 342). The creation of the feminine category is a shared innovation in SDr. (see § 5.8.).

(v) Change of PDr. **ya* > *e*:

In SDr. and NDr. the PDr. oblique bases **yan-* (of 1st person sg. pronoun **yān*, 4234) and **yam-* (of 1st person excl. pl. **yām*, 4231) change to *en-* and *em-* respectively because the sequence **ya-* is not otherwise common in Dravidian. The similarity between SDr. and NDr. in this respect must be a parallel development.

(vi) Addition of a Dental to the Negative Participles :

The negative adverbial and adjectival participles in PDr. and also Old Tamil contained only the negative suffix

*ā. In the latter stages of SDr. they have been extended by the addition of a dental, probably the past suffix in origin (see §§ 4.27,28.).

(vii) OPTIONAL NATURE OF THE NEUTER PLURAL :

In SDr. and NDr. (and therefore in PDr.) the neuter pl. marker is an optional category ; it is a retention in both SDr. and NDr. (see Subrahmanyam 1969b.).

(viii) STRUCTURE OF THE PAST STEM :

The past tense morpheme in PSDr. has four main allomorphs, i e. **t*, **nt*, **tt* and **i*; this is a retention from the PDr. stage. The languages of the other subgroups show simplification of the original structure. Within SDr., Kannaḍa and Tuḷu also show some simplification (see chapter 2.).

(ix) WIDESPREAD USE OF THE *-*pp*- NON-PAST :

In PDr. and Old Tamil two non-past markers, viz., *-*pp*- (∞ *--*v*-) (§ 3.23) and *-*tt*- (∞ *-*t*-) (§ 3.25) were existing. In the later stages of SDr. the labial was generalized at the expense of the dental while in CDr. the dental was generalized at the expense of the labial.

(x) OPTATIVE :

The optative with *-*kka* (∞ -*ka*) is found only in SDr.; in Tuḷu it is used as hortative (§ 7.24.).

(xi) CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *vēṇṭ- :

The syntactic constructions : infinitive + *vēṇṭ-um / *vēṇṭ-ā with obligative (affirmative and negative) meaning occur only in the SDr. languages (see p. 498.).

(xii) RETENTION OF PDR. *ṇ AND* ḷ :

The languages of SDr. alone retain the retroflex nasal (ṇ) and lateral (ḷ). In the languages of CDr. and NDr. they merge with the corresponding alveolars, *n* and *l* respectively. (The few exceptions are : Koṇḍa, Pengo and Kui of CDr. retain the retroflex ṇ only in a few cases; the Naikṛi dialect of Kolami preserves the original *ḷ after non-front vowels).

(xiii) LEXICAL ITEMS :

More than two hundred lexical items are found exclusively only in the SDr. languages. Examples are *DED* entries 96 (Ta. *aṇṇā* 'to look upward'), 98 (Ta. *aṇi* 'decoration'), 170 (Ta. *araṇi* 'typical lizard'), 176 (Ta. *ari* 'to sift'), 389 (Ta. *itaḻ* 'petal'), 423 (Ta. *ilai* 'leaf'), 726 (Ta. *eḷ*, *eṇ* '*sesamum indicum*'), 854 (Ta. *oḷi* 'light'), 1002 (Ta. *katir* 'ear of grain'), 1677 (Ta. *kēḷ* 'to hear, ask'), 2936 (Ta. *tōl* 'to be defeated'), 2940 (Ta. *tōḷ* 'shoulder'), 3786 (Ta. *mañcaḷ* 'turmeric'), 4403 (Ta. *vāḻai* 'plantain'), 4557 (Ta. *vēlai* 'work') and (Ta. *vai* 'to abuse').

1.1. Classification of the South Dravidian Languages

(a) There are indications that PSDr. first split into two divisions, i.e., the Tamil–Kannaḍa group and Tuḷu.

The following are the innovations that the Tamil-Kannaḍa group has undergone after its separation from Tuḷu.

1. Extension of the neut. pl. allomorph **-kaḷ* at the expense of **-ḷ*. Tuḷu retains both of them.

Ta. Ma. *kay(-kaḷ)*, Ka. *kay(-gaḷu)*: Tu. *kay-kuḷu* 'hands'.

Ta. Ma. *kaṇ(-kaḷ)*, Ka *kaṇṇu-(-gaḷu)*: Tu. *kaṇṇu-ḷu* 'eyes'.

2. Restriction of the oblique marker **-tt* to nouns ending in *m/n*.

3. Addition of the dental derivative suffix in the numerals for 'five' and 'eight'.

Ta. *ayntu*, Ma. *añcu*, Ko. *anj*, To. *üz/üj*, Koḍ. *añjī*, Ka. *ay(i)du* : Tu. *aynī* 'five'. (2318)

Ta. Ma. *eṭṭu*, Ko. *eṭ*, To. * öṭ*, Kod. *ëṭṭī*, Ka. *eṇṭu* : Tu. *eṇ-ma* 'eight (things)'. (670)

4. Replacement of the negative marker **-ā-* by *-Ø-* before personal suffixes other than 3rd neut. sg. and pl. (§ 4.24).

Moreover, Tuḷu is different from all other SDr. languages in the formation of the causative-transitive verbs (§ 1.7) and

in having the adjective marker -*i* in contrast to –*a* of the other SDr. languages in the verbal adjectives (§ 2.31)[2]. Other important changes in Tuḷu are: 1. **l̤* → (B)*ḷ* / (C)*r*/*l*. 2. **ṉṟ*; **ṟ* → *nj*, *nd*; 3. **ḷ* → (C)*l*.

(b) The Tamil–Kannada group later split into Tamil-Koḍagu and Kannaḍa (dialect Baḍaga).

Kannaḍa is characterised by the following changes: 1. **v*- → *b*-. 2. **p*- → *h*-. 3. **e*, **o* → *i*, *u* before –*a*. 4. Simplification of the past stem formation (chapter 2). 5. Neuter pl. pronominal suffix -*uvu*. 6. Generalization of -*isu* as the transitive–casuative marker. 7. Use of *alli* 'there' as the locative suffix (in the later stages).

The Tamil–Koḍagu group contains the following innovations: 1. *NPP → PP. 2. Palatalization of dentals after *i* or *y*. 3. Employment of different tense markers to express intransitive and transitive–causative meanings. Moreover, in SDr. only this group retained verb bases with the relationship intransitive (N)P : transitive PP.

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2. The following features shared exclusively by Tuḷu and Kannaḍa (and Koḍagu) are due to areal convergence : 1. Loss of final **m* (Kannada and Tuḷu); (2) Change of PDr. **v*- > *b*- (Tuḷu, Kannaḍa and Koḍagu); 3. Change of front vowels to back vowels between a labial and a retroflex (Tuḷu and Koḍagu). The same explanation holds good also to about seventy lexical items that are exclusively common to Tuḷu and Kannaḍa (also Koḍagu in a few instances) (e.g., 80, 101, 373, 880, 3092, 4409), the ordinal suffix Tu. -*ane* : Ka. -*aneya* and the derivative suffix Tu. -(*i*)*kɛ* : Ka. -*ike* (3796, 4330, 4479).

(c) The Tamil–Koḍagu group later seems to have split into Tamil–Malayalam–Koḍagu and Koda–Toda.

The following are some of the important innovations in the Kota–Toda sub-subgroub: 1. Usage of the erstwhile past stem as the basis also for present tense and some other formations. 2. Loss of gender-number distinction in 3rd person finite forms. 3. Loss of initial *n* in the inclusive pl. pronoun (Ko. *ām* (*am-*), To. *om-* (*om-*) <PDR. **nām* (**nam-*)). 4. Loss of the *a* derivative suffix in verbs. In SDr. they alone contain the inclusive–exclusive contrast in the verb forms; this, most probably, is a retention. Toda shows the following changes: 1. **a*, **ā* → **o*. **ō*, 2. *v-* → *p-*. 3. **c-* → *t*. 4, Loss of medial *r* and vowel contraction, also **r* → *š*, *ṣ*. 5. Regular loss of homorganic nasal. 6. *l* → *s̄*, *L*. 7. *ḷ* → *l*, *Ḷ*. 8. *ḻ* → *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *š*, *ṣ*, *w*. 9. Use of *-ām* as the pl. marker. 16. Use of original oblique bases of personal pronouns as nominative forms. 11. A sibilant as past tense marker, etc.

Kota shows the following changes: 1. **o*, **ō*, **u*, **ū* → *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī* before **-ay*. 2. **ṟ* → *r*, 3. **ḻ* → *ḷ*, *ṛ*, *g*, *y*. 4. Use of *p* / *k* as the past tense marker. 5. Use of *ṯ* as the past adverbial suffix. 6. Use of *āy* as the negative suffix in past and non-past negative constructions., etc.

(d) Koḍagu seems to have split from the Tamil–Malayalam–Koḍagu group after the separation of Kota-Toda.[3]

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3. This is only a tentative statement requiring confirmation after a more detailed study. Previously Koḍagu was considered to have deviated before Kota-Toda (see Emeneau 1967). But recently Bh. Krishnamurti (1969c : 326)

It is not yet entirely clear whether there was a period of common development exclusively for Tamil–Malayalam and Koḍagu. The addition of *-kaḷ* to the pl. personal pronouns in the three languages is the only point so far available that is indicative of it. (cf. also the use of **uṭay* to denote genitive case in them).

Koḍagu has the following additional changes: 1. **i, *e* → *a* before retroflexes followed by **a* or *e*< **ay*. 2. **i, *ī, *e, *ē* → ï, ī̈, ë, ē̈ before a retroflex or *r*< **ṟ*. 3. **i, *ī, *e, *ē* → *u, ū, o, ō* between a labial (*p, m, b*) and a retroflex or *r*< **ṟ*. 4. **y*+**t* → *jj* (in past stems). 5. **-aku/*-uku/*-uvu* → *u*. 6. Generalization of original neut. sg. negative forms to all persons.

(e) The Tamil–Malayalam group has the following further developments: 1. *k-* → *c-* before a front vowel not followed by a retroflex, also *-k-* → *-c-* before a front vowel. 2, **e, *o* → *i, u* before a derivative suffix beginning with *a*. 3. The accusative suffix **-ai*.

Malayalam shows the following additional changes: 1.NP→NN (except in retroflexes and labials). 2. Loss of

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observes that since Koḍagu, unlike Kota–Toda, preserves the derivative *a* in verbs (corresponding to class VII verbs of Tamil, *naṭa* 'to walk', etc.) "it belongs to a lower node than that of Toda and Kota." The point, however, is not clinching because it is only a shared retention from PDr. But Koḍ. *eṅga, naṅga* 'we', *niṅga* 'you (pl)' which are oblique bases in origin, show the addition of *-kaḷ* to **em-*, **nam-* and **nim-* respectively as in Tamil–Malayalam (note that in spoken Tamil also final *ḷ* is dropped). This shared innovation in Tamil–Malayalam-Koḍagu (not found in Kota-Toda) is in favour of Krishnamurti's suggestion.

personal suffixes in finite verbs. 3. Negative periphrastic constructions with *illa*. 4. Extensive use of forms with *-vān* (∞ *-ppān*) as infinitives. 5. Prohibitive construction with infinitive + *arutu*, etc.

Tamil additionally shows the following changes: 1. *l*/*ḷ*→*ṟ*/*ṭ* before *k* and *p*. 2. Loss of final *l* and *ḷ* (colloquially). 3. **ṟ*, **ṟṟ*→ **r*, *tt* (colloquially) 4. **ñ*- → *n*- (in later stages), etc.

2. Central Dravidian

The following are the characteristic features of the Central Dravidian subgroup:

(i) Gender Distinction:

In all the CDr. languages excepting Telugu the gender distinction is masculine *versus* non-masculine (i.e., feminine and neuter) in both sg. and pl. Telugu retains the original system in showing the contrast : masculine *versus* non-masculine in the sg. but human *versus* non-human in the pl. while in the other CDr. languages feminine was grouped with the neuter in the plural also on the analogy of the contrast in the singular.

(ii) Female Kinship Terms with *-āḷ:

Female kinship terms with the suffix *-*āḷ* occur only in the CDr. languages, e.g. Te. *kōḍalu* 'daughter-in-law' (<PCDr. **kōḻ-āḷ*; 1787), Te. *cel(l)iyalu* 'younger sister' (<PCDr. **cēl-āḷ*; 2288), Kol. *podal* 'mother-in-law' (<PCDr. **pōt-āḷ*; 3685), Te. *maṟãdalu* 'spouse's younger

sister' (<PCDr. **maṯant-āḷ*; 3899). (See *DED* for forms in the other languages.)

(iii) OBLIGATORY USE OF NEUTER PLURAL :

In SDr. and NDr. (as in PDR.) the neuter pl. category is an optional category. The CDr. languages have innovated by making it an obligatory category.

(iv) PDR. **ya-* →*a-* :

In the PCDr. period PDr. **yan-* (oblique base of **yān* 'I' changed to *an-* and PDr. **yam-* (oblique base of **yām* 'we (excl.)') changed to *am-*.

(v) LOSS OF **n-* IN SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS :

In the PCDr. period PDr. **nī(n)* (**nin-*) 'you (sg.)' changed to *ī(n)* (*in-*) and PDr. **nīm*/**nīr* (**nim-*) changed to *īm*/*īr* (*im-*) due to the loss of initial *n*.

(vi) THIRD PERSON MASCULINE SINGULAR PRONOUN:

The 3rd person masculine sg. pronoun in CDr. is **avan̠ṯ* contrasting with SDr. **avan̠* (see § 5.9).

(vii) PAST ADVERB WITH *-*ci* :

All CDr. languages with the exception of Kolami contain reflexes of *-*ci* as the past adverbial suffix (see § 2.30).

(viii) PAST NEGATIVE :

All the CDr. languages excepting Telugu and Goṇḍi contain a morphological construction to express the past negative (§ 4.26).

(ix) NEGATIVE ADVERB:

In many of the CDr. languages the negative adverb contains the suffix *-*ak* (§ 4.27).

(x) WIDESPREAD USE OF THE **tt*(∞ **t*) NON-PAST:

While PDr. contained both the labial and dental non-past markers, CDr. generalized the dental at the expense of the labial while SDr. generalized the labial at the expense of the dental.

(xi) LEXICAL ITEMS:

More than fifty lexical items are found exclusively only in the CDr. languages. Examples are *DED* entries 95 (Te. *ḍappi, dappi* 'thirst'), 165 (kol. *argḍi* 'chest of body'), 197 (Te. *rālu* 'to fall'), 348 (Pa. *ēdir* 'hail'), 467 (Te. *ǐlugu* 'to die'), 498 (Pa. *uyp-* 'to husk (rice)'), 596 (Te. *duvvu* 'tiger'), 623 Kol. *ud-* 'to sit'), 757 (Kol. *ēnd-* 'to dance'), 1015 Kol. *katk-* 'to strike down'), 1372 (Pa. *guññi* 'owl'), 1485 (Kol. *goria* 'deer'), 1642 (Go. *kel* 'hair'), 3096 (Pa. *neṅget, niko* 'good'), 3594 (Pa. *pēp-* 'to appear, come out'), 3731 (Kol. *bōk-* 'to become wet'), 3899 (Te. *maṟādi* 'spouses' younger brother'), 3907 (Pa. *medi* 'mango'), 4243 (Te. *remmu* 'to snatch'), 4364, (Te. *vaṇḍu* 'to cook'), 4499 (Ga.(Oll.) *vaṅger* 'palate') etc.

2.1. Classification of the Central Dravidian Languages

(a) Proto-Central Dravidian first split into two groups: Telugu-Kuvi and Kolami-Parji.

The Kolami–Parji sub-subgroup has the following characteristics: 1. Rentention of the two allomorphs of the neuter pl. marker **-kaḷ* and **-ḷ*. 2. Creation of a new feminine (–neuter) pl. marker **-v*. 3. Infinitive in **-(V)ṅk*. 4. Creation of separate forms for feminine in the numerals two to four. 5. Instrumental with *-aḍ/-oḍ* ~ *-naḍ/-noḍ*).

(b) Kolami-Parji split into Kolami-Naiki and Parji-Gadba. Kolami–Naiki contain the following further changes: 1. Generalization of the *t* past suffix. 2. Negative **a* → *e*. 3. Future non-masculine sg. in *-un/-an* (< **um*). 4 Non-past adjective in *-eka*. 5. Prohibitive in *-ne-m* (sg.), *-ne-r* (pl.).

The two languages have distinct developments for PDr. **ḻ*; it changes to *r* in Kolami but to *y* or zero in Naiki; Naiki shows the loss of final *l* (it occurs in Adilabad Kolami also),

(c) Parji-Gadba contain the following features: 1. Change of **ṟṟ*, **ṉṟ* → *ṭṭ*, *nḍ* (only in the North-Eastern dialect of Parji). 2. Retention of PDr. *ḻ* as ṛ without merger. 3. *ñc* → *ñ*. 4. **ip-t-* → *i-t-* (in the past stems of causatives). 5. Retention of a class of verbs with alternating stems in *p/t*. 6. Retention of past **nt* as Pa. *ñ* Ga. *n* (after verbs in y, *ī* and *r*). 7. Adjective marker *-an*. 8. Prohibitive in *-m-en* (sg.) and *-m-or* (pl.). 9. Substitution of *p* by *k* in the infinitive.

Parji in addition contains 1. **a*, **ā* → *e*, *ē*. 2. **e*, **ē* → *a*, *ā*. 2. Use of *m* (< **um*) as the present tense marker. 3. Addition of an *a* finally in simplex negative forms. Gadba

differs from Parji in the change of *ṟ to y (Pa. d/ḍ), of *ṭ to r (Pa. ḍ) and in past negative constructions. Moreover in Parji *c is retained as an affricate while in Gadba changes to a sibilant:

(d) The following innovations took place in Telugu-Kuvi: 1. Metathesis and vowel contraction (Gonḍi and Konḍa contain instances of metathesis only in words that were originally beginning with a vowel). 2. Metathesis in the oblique bases of the personal pronouns, i.e., PCDr. *an-* (1st sg.), *am-* (1st excl. pl.), *in-* (2nd sg.) and *im-* (2nd pl.) respectively changed to *nā-*, *mā-*, *nī-* and *mī-*. In later Telugu, Gonḍi (dialectally), Konḍa, Kui (dialectally) and Kuvi the absolute forms also took additional *n* (sg.) and *m* (pl.) initially on the analogy of the oblique forms with initial *n*, *m*. 3 Creation of a new pl suffix *-ṭ (particularly in the imperative).

Telugu first deviated from this groups Further changes in it are: 1. *k- → c- before front vowels. 2. *i, *u → e, o before -a. 3. *c- → Ø. 4. ḻ → C] r, V-ḍ-V. 5. Incorporation of c(u) into the base from past adverbs. 6. *-m-ṭ → ṇḍ(u) in imperative 2nd pl.

(e) Gonḍi-Kuvi has the following further innovations: 1. *ḷ → ṟ, 2. *ḻ → ṟ, '. *ṭ → Proto-Gondi-Kuvi ṟ. 4. Non-masculine pl. V] *-nk. C] *-k. 5. Feminine pl. suffix -sk (in some cases). 6. Change of original *ṉṟ, *ṇṭ to Proto-Gonḍi-Kuvi *ṟṟ, *ṭṭ respectively in past stems of verbs ending in n (< *n, *ṇ) and l. 7. Creation of the transitives *niṟṟ / *neṟṟ- 'to fill' (3049) aud *veṯṯ- 'to speak,

tell' (4472 & 4498) from the intransitives **niṉṟ-* 'to become full' and *ven-* 'to hear' respectively. 8. The negative suffix *-*vā*- (§ 4.25.). 9. The meaning change in Proto-Go-Kuvi *maṟi* 'son' (cf Ta. Ma. *maṟi* 'young of animals' 3901) and **ēṟ* 'water' (cf. Ta. *yāṟu* 'river', 4233). Also cf. the words Proto-Go.-Kuvi **ver-Vnc* 'finger' (cf. Ta. Ma. *viral,* 4436) and **piṟ* 'rain' (cf Ta. *pey* 'to rain', 3610).

Gondi seems to have diverged first from this group. This is indicated by the absence in it of the morphological past negative construction, of the motion particle and of special verb forms for the first and the second persons all of which are present in the rest of the languages of this group.

(f) The Konda-Kuvi group contains the following features. 1. Retention of the past negative construction, 2. Motion Particle. 3. Special verb forms with reference to 1st and 2nd persons. 4. Retention of verbs with the relationship: intransitive - (N)B: transitive - PP. 5. Retention of retroflex **ṇ* in some cases.

Konḍa seems to have first separated from this group since it differs from the rest of the languages of this group in retaining original **ṟ*, **ṟṟ* (as *R*) and **nṟ;* it also lost the motion particle and the special forms but, as noted by Burrow (see p. 478-79) preserves traces of them only in two verbs.

(g) The Pengo-Manḍa-Kui-Kuvi group[4] has the following additional common features: 1. Plural action (or intensive-frequentative) verb forms with the suffix *-pa* (∞ *-ba*) or *-ka*. 2. Change of original alveolar **ṟ*, **nṟ*, **ṟṟ* to palatal *j*, *nj* and *c* respectively. 3. Two negative adjectives, one for the past and the other for the non-past. 4. Inclusive pl. suffix **-as* (§ 5.5.)

Regarding the interrelationships, Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970 : viii–ix) note: "The Pengo language is most closely related to the Manḍa language.....these two languages have the same close relationship as have Kui and Kuvi.

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4. M.B. Emeneau (1945, also 1962 : 69–70) assumes that from PDr. Kui–Kuvi separated first since they alone have a set of '1st and 2nd person transition particles' (*a* in positive forms and *-ara-*/*-aja-* in negative forms) added to the verb stem (and then followed by other suffixes) when the verb has a 1st or 2nd person, expressed or understood as direct or indirect object. He thinks that in the variants *tǎr-*, *vǎr* of *ta* 'to give' and *va-* 'to bring' in the rest of the languages the *r* is related to the transition particle *-ara-* in Kui–Kuvi. He argues that since the system in Kui–Kuvi is regular while other languages show traces of it only in these two verbs, Kui–Kuvi which preserved the original system must have separated from PDr. before the other languages. However, other evidence clearly shows that Kui–Kuvi shares numerous innovations along with the other CDr. languages and, more over, additional evidence is lacking to set up Kui–Kuvi as a separate subgroup in Dravidian.

After Manḍa the closest relations of Pengo are Kui and Kuvi. Among the features which Pengo shares with these two languages, we may mention in particular (1) the existence of a special verbal stem, used when the object of the verb is the first or second person, and (2) the existence of a motion base made by the addition of suffix *-ka/-ga*. On the other hand, there are also some noteworthy connections with Konḍa and in particular mention may be made of the use in the two languages of a special suffix (Pengo *-hi*, Konda *-si*) after names of relationship when these are used in connection with the third person." Further, Konḍa and Pengo have in common the infinitive in *-teṅ* (∞*-deṅ*). Konḍa, on the other hand, agrees with Gonḍi in having the inclusive pl. suffix as *-aṭ*.

Pengo contains the further changes: 1. **o* → *u* before *z* (optional). 2. Shortening of long vowels in some cases (also in Konḍa), e.g. *pen* 'god' (Go. *pēn*), Pe. *huṛ-*, Konḍa *suṛ-* 'to see' (Pa. *cūṛ-*). 3. **t* → *c* before a palatal (dialectally). 4. **s-* → *h-*.

Kui contains the further changes: 1. **y* → *j*. 2. **l*, **ḷ* → *ḍ*.

Kuvi contains the further change: 1. *s-* → *h-*.

3. North Dravidian

The following are the characteristic features of the North Dravidian subgroup:

(i) PDr, **k-* → *x-* Before Vowels other than: **i* **ī*: Kur. *xann* 'eye', Malt. *qanu*, Br. *xan* : Ta. *kaṇ*. (973)

Kur. *xāxā* 'crow', Malt. *qāqe*, Br. *xāxō* : Ta. *kākkai*. (1197)

Kur. *xebdā* 'ear', Malt. *qethwu*, Br. *xaf* : Ka. *kivi*. (1645)

(ii) PDr. **v-* → *b-* :

Kur. *baī* 'mouth', Br. *bā* : Ta. *vāy*. (4385)

Kur. Malt. *bar* 'to come', Br. *bann-/bar-* : Ta. *varu*. (4311)

(iii) PDr. **c-* → *k-* Before **ŭ*, **ĕ* :

Kur. Malt. *kuṛ-* 'to burn': Ta. *cuṭu*. (2183)

Kur. *xerr-* 'to thrust in', Malt. *qer-*; Ta. *ceruku*. (2285)

Kur. *kum?-* 'to carry on head', Malt. *kum-*, Br. *kubēn* 'heavy': Ta. *cuma* 'to bear'. (2204)

(iv) First and Second Person Singular Pronouns :

The oblique forms, Kur. Malt. *eṅg-* (of 1st sg. pronoun) and *niṅg-* (of 2nd sg. pronoun) are dative case forms in origin. The Brahui form *kan-* (oblique base of 1st sg. pronoun) may also be related to Kur. Malt. *eṅg-*. Also note that the oblique bases *eṅg-* (1st sg.) and *em-* (1st pl.) in Kurux-Malto show the development **ya* → *e* as in SDr.

(v) Past Suffix **-k-* :

See § 2. 28.

(vi) Future Suffix **-o-* :

See p. 306.

(vii) STRENGTHENED IMPERATIVE:

See p. 490.

(viii) AUXILIARY VERB "TO GO":

In Brahui a periphrastic formation called "intensive or completive compound" consists of a finite verb followed by the verb *hin-/kā-* 'to go', both forms being in the same tense, number and person, e.g., *kask hinā* 'He died outright'.

Kurux has a similar construction with the auxiliary *kā-* 'to go': *keccā kerā* 'She died, passed away.'

This construction may be a North Dravidian innovation.

(ix) PAST SUFFIX **-c-*:

Kur.-Malt. *bar-* (*bar-c-*), Br. *bann-/bar-* (*ba-ss-*) 'to come'. (4311)

Kur.-Malt. *xeʔ-* (*ke-cc-*), Br. *kaʔ-* (*kas-k-*) 'to die'. (2002)

Kur.-Malt. *ciʔ-* (*ci-cc-*) 'to give'. (2138)

In the above cases, NDr. retains the **-c-* past suffix.

(x) INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN:

Kur. *nē* 'who (sg.)', Malt. *nēre(h)* 'which man', *nēri(th)/nē(th)* 'which woman', *nērer* 'which persons', and Br. *dēr*, *dē* 'who (sg. or pl.)' are from PNDr. **nē* (4228) which occurs in no other language.

(xi) MEANING CHANGE:

The verb **man-* (3914) originally means 'to remain,, exist' but in the NDr. languages it means 'to become, be so-and-so'.

Kur. *tungul*, Malt. *tumgle*, Br. *tugh* mean 'dream'. They are from PDr. **tūṅk-* 'to hang, sleep' (2777); this meaning development is absent elsewhere.

(xii) NEW DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES :

Kur. *marag* 'horn', Malt. *margu*, Br. *margh* (3864) show the *-k- derivative suffix (cf. Ta. *maruppu* 'horn').

Kur. *xẽsō* 'red', Malt. *qēso*, Br. *xīsun* (1607) show the *-c- derivative suffix (cf. Ta. *ce(m)-* 'red').

Kur. Malt. *pinj-* 'to name', Br. *pin* 'name' (3612) shows *-n(c)- (cf. Ta. *peyar*, *pēr* 'name').

(xiii) LEXICAL ITEMS :

The three languages show only a small number of exclusively common lexical items, i.e., 419 (Kur. Malt. *irc-* 'to scratch', Br, *iris* 'comb'), 1817 (Kur. Malt *xōs-* 'to pound', Br. *xōshk-* 'to rub'), 1879 (Kur. *cakkh-* 'to prick', Malt. *caq-* 'to stab', Br. *jaxx-* 'to pierce'), 3627 (Kur. *bēk* 'salt', Malt. *bēku*, Br. *bē*), 4215 (Kur. *mōjxā*, *mōsgā* 'smoke', *mojox-* 'to smoke', Malt. *moġ-* 'to smoke', Br. *mōlh* 'smoke'), 1301 (Kur. *ximb-*, *khimc-* 'to embrace' Br. *xumb* 'embrace'), 3437 (Malt. *pilq-* 'to squeeze', Br. *pilh-*).

3.1. Classification of the North Dravidian languages

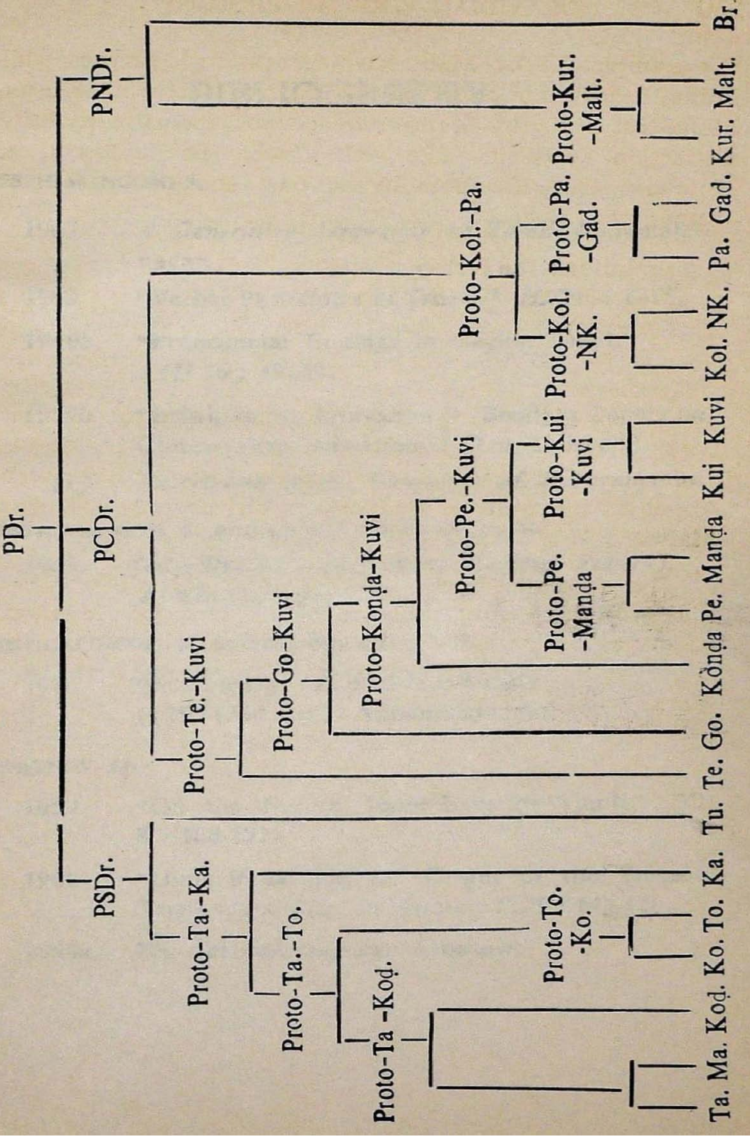
Brahui first diverged form PNDr. while Kuṛux and Malto remained together for a long time and separated only comparatively recently. This is responsible for differences between Brahui and Kuṛux–Malto in grammatical structure.

For example, Kuṛux–Malto have no neuter pl. marker while Brahui has; Brahui preserved the negative tense while Kuṛux-Malto lost it; Kuṛux-Malto retained the inclusive-exclusive distinction (even in finite verbs) while Brahui lost it, etc. Note also the differences in the past and non-past stem formation.

Brahui has the further changes: 1. **e* → *a*, *i*. 2. **o* → *a*, *u*, *ō*. 3. **n*- → *d*- *-*ṭ*- [FV. 4. *-*ṭ*- → *r*, *rr*, *ṛ*. 5. **l* (and **ḷ*) → *l*, *l̲h̲*. 6. **ḻ* → *r*. 7. *-*k*- → -*l̲h̲*-. 8. *-*v*- → -*f*-. 9. **ṉṟ* → *s*. 10. Loss of gender distinction.

Kuṛux–Malto has the following further changes: 1. **ṟ* → *s*, *r*. 2. **ṟṟ* → *tt*. 3. *ṉṟ* → *nd*. 4. **ḻ* → ∅ 5. Creation of separate female speech forms in finite verbs. About 150 lexical items are found exclusively only in Kuṛux-Malto.

The following family-tree diagram indicates the various stages of the disintegration of PDr. into the present-day languages (on the basis of the latest studies).


PDr.
PNDr.
PCDr.
PSDr.
Proto-Ta.-Ka.
Proto-Ta.-To.
Proto-Ta -Koḍ.
Proto-To.-Ko.
Proto-Te.-Kuvi
Proto-Go-Kuvi
Proto-Koṇḍa-Kuvi
Proto-Pe.-Kuvi
Proto-Pe.-Maṇḍa
Proto-Kui-Kuvi
Proto-Kol.-Pa.
Proto-Kol.-NK.
Proto-Pa.-Gad.
Proto-Kur.-Malt.
Ta. Ma. Koḍ. Ko. To. Ka. Tu. Te. Go. Koṇḍa Pe. Maṇḍa Kui Kuvi Kol. NK. Pa. Gad. Kur. Malt. Br.

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BDA	*Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology*
BDCRI	*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*
BIHP	*Bulletin of the Institute of History and philosophy*
BSO (A)S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and) African Studies*
ERM	*Educational Review*, Madras
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
IL	*Indian Linguistics*
HQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JAS	*Journal of the Asiatic Society*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JAU	*Journal of the Annamalai University*

JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JORM	*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras
JOU	*Journal of the Osmania University Humanities and Social Sciences*
Lg	*Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*
LSI	*Linguistic Survey of India*
QJMS	*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore
TC	*Tamil Culture*, Madras
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*, London]

ERRATA

Page	Line	Error	Correction
189	2b	*-t-	*-t̲-
191	2b	t	ṭ
195	6	*en-t-	*en-t̲-
	7	*it-t	*it̲-t̲-
197	7	ha-ə	ha-c-
	14	PDr. *cat̲-t̲	PDr. *can-t̲-
	20	t̲	t
201	14	To. s θ	θ s
204	5b	(na-ñ-)	(no-ñ-)
205	7b	(pūṇḍ--)	(pūṇd-)
211	14	reasonable	reasonably
	21, 23	l̲	l
213	17	këḷ-, kë-ṭ-	kë̄ḷ-, kë̄-ṭ-
215	8	-i- terms	-i- in terms
216	10, 13	r < *r	r < r̲
217	5	Which	While
	15	languages "	languages."
	22	(kaṭi-it-)	(kaṭi-tt-)
	23	of.	cf.
218	6b	formed	from

Page	Line	Error	Correction
221	3b	'The woman that pented.'	'The man that praised.'
	2b	'Those that saw.'	'The woman that parted.'
222	13, 14	*–in*	*–i<u>n</u>*
	1b	past	part
224	5	*eḷcu*	*eḷku*
	13	PNDr.	*kas–k–* < PNDr.
	5b	**nr* to *rr*	**n<u>r</u>* to *<u>r</u><u>r</u>*
226	1	two instance (see § 2).	one instance (see § 2.8(iii).)
	2b	*i<u>l</u>a–nr–a<u>n</u>–a*	*i<u>l</u>a-nt–a<u>n</u>–a*
	3b	*vi<u>l</u>–nt–a<u>n</u>–<u>r</u>u*	*vī<u>l</u>–nt–a<u>n</u>–<u>r</u>u*
228	5	It	it
229	19	*C* correspoding	*c* corresponding
	22	base,“	base.”
230	24	(: *mēyu*	,*mēs–i* (: *mēyu*
	3b	rule	
232	4	*māḷti*	*māḷtɨ*
236	10	*–inam*	*–inan*
237	5	(V–	CV–
266	6b	*tiṇ–ṭu*	*tiṇ–ṭū*
319	2b	*moānu*	*mrānu*
494	6b	*t*	*ṭ*
450	2b	*veḷḷamā?*	*veḷḷanā/veḷḷamā?*
482	6b	*shol–ʔa–ṭu*	*sōl–ʔa–ṭu*

(Note: b = from bottom)

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